John Carter Brown.

Mr Lincolns
1820.

NEW-ENGLAND's PROSPECT.

BEING

A true, lively, and experimental Description

OF THAT PART OF

AMERICA

COMMONLY CALLED

NEW-ENGLAND:

DISCOVERING

The State of that Country, both as it stands to our new-come ENGLISH Planters, and to the old Native Inhabitants.

AND

Laying down that which may both enrich the Knowledge of the Mind-travelling Reader, or benefit the future Voyager

The Third EDITION.

By *WILLIAM WOOD.*

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JOHN CARTER BROWN

AN Introductory ESSAY to this Edition.

THE variety of our ſenſes, and the vaſt variety of objects adapted to them, aided by the exquiſite ſenſibility of the human mind to impreſſions from them all, are extreamly apt in the firſt career of life, when the paſſions are warm and animated, the judgment cold and lifeleſs, to warp and byaſs the mind from the moral paths of truth to the intricate maze of error, the whole round of life is ſpent in the contraction of prejudices, and in the reſolution of them; "each year ſerves only as a comment "upon the paſt." Under pretence of emancipating the mind from theſe prejudices, the firſt principles of virtue, oftentimes inwoven with the narroweſt education, are frequently eradicated; it requires the curious hand of a ſkilful gardener to extirpate the weeds without injuring the plants; where the fibres are even looſened from the ſoil, the moſt delicate ſhoots are oftentimes irreparably injured; the finer and more exquiſite their texture is, the more ſuſceptible are they of injury and harm: And in the moral world, thoſe fine and poliſhed feelings which reſult from the philanthropy of our nature, which are the ſource of the moſt diffuſive benevolence, creating in the human mind the moſt emulous pnrſuits, are more eaſily eraſed than the rugged and coarſe paſſions, ſpontaneous in the roughеſt ſoils, in minds the moſt ſavage.

A ſtrong attachment to one's country is the moſt fixed principle impreſſed upon the tender mind, and when ſupported by the benevolent effuſions, is one of the moſt

ſocial

ſocial virtues of the human heart, involving with its own happineſs the welfare of communities, and proportionable to its fervour, elevating the mind to the nobleſt ſervices. This attachment ſtrengthening with our connections, becomes uneradicable; and tho' many countries are more improved in their ſoil, their manners and amuſements, yet we ſo ſtrongly aſſociate with our vernacular connections, the place where they were formed, that it ever after ſupports an aſcendancy and preference; happily for us the wiſdom of nature hath created the mind capable of this affection, or we ſhould prefer every pleaſanter and more cultivated country, neglecting and deſpiſing our own. The philoſophic indifference begot by a contemplative life creates a dead calm, enfeebling that generous warmth, that lively patriotiſm, men of great virtue and active paſſion impetuouſly purſue.

" On life's ſmooth ſurface diverſely we ſail,
" Reaſon's the card, but paſſion is the gale."

In traverſing the globe we every where meet with the human mind impelled by the ſame paſſions and deſires, the ſame haunt after happineſs, an equal reluctance at the preſent hour, and puſhing into a future for more pleaſure, the ſame little circles and rounds of life prevailing even from royalty to the peaſant; viewing things at a diſtance, we are extreamly apt to form imaginary ideas of happineſs far beyond the truth; fancy is ever buſy, intruding her officious aid, and leading us to the fond illuſion; this we often find in viſiting foreign countries, and ſtill more frequently in the connections and acquaintances we are every day forming, pleaſant by their novelty, yet ſoon degenerating and melting down into the maſs of our common friends.

The author of nature is too beneficent to confine happineſs to climate or country, he hath placed endleſs ſources of pleaſure within every one's graſp, always at hand

hand, to blandiſh the keen edge of human miſery; and ſo much of our happineſs is ſentimental, reſulting from the opinions others entertain of us, that it affords one of the firmeſt ſupports to virtue, and the nobleſt ſcope for the exertion of the moſt benevolent principles; to convince our friends that we think they are happy, tends really to make them ſo, and at the ſame time this philanthropy enſures to us the moſt ſocial reception.

THE firſt laws of New-England were wholly adapted to the promoting religion, and that mode of worſhip they preferably eſteemed, and to this all their manners and conduct was mainly bent, forcibly proving upon what views our firſt ſettlers emigrated; had commerce been their aim, the ſpirit of their laws would have been commercial, for laws are the beſt index of the ſpirit of a government, but it was religious; the mind is ever thirſty after its favourite point, and upon the firſt liberty unfailingly diſcovers itſelf. If this principle was puſhed too far for the civil ſtate, candour ſhould draw a veil over human infirmities, over the infirmities of men ſoured by diſappointment and maletreated in their native country, over men whoſe ideas of the Deity were that of inflexible juſtice rather than of benign mercy, over the errors of the age, rather than the faults of particular ſects, for the good policy of toleration was at that time ſcarcely known; at this period human reaſon had not gained the aſcendency it hath ſince attained, the mind was combating the prejudices it had contracted by the irrational metaphyſics of the ſchools; the paths of human liberty were devious, and not juſtly chalked out; and as this weakneſs and uncertainty of reaſon enervated the mind, it prevented thoſe generous indulgencies in favour of others, which it aſſumed for itſelf; though it is the ſentiment of Hume, who cannot be accuſed of partiality, that even in Queen Elizabeth's and King James's reigns, puritanical, was

conſidered

conſidered in a twofold ſenſe, as favourable to political and civil, as well as to eccleſiaſtical liberty; they grew up and throve together, till at laſt unhappily arriving at their extreams, they deſtroyed themſelves. It is not however an intereſting point upon what views the country was primarily improved, tho' it is evident the firſt ſettlers had no conceptions of the importance the colonies might become to Great-Britain; nor did they imagine they were laying the moſt extenſive baſis for its glory and grandeur. The ſame author above quoted, mentions, that ſpeculative men imagined that Great-Britain would be depopulated and the colonies rival her; but he judiciouſly remarks that it has proved falſe, and ever will, whilſt a mild government is extended towards them. I remember an anonymous author breaks out in the ſtyle of thoſe times, in an apoſtrophe to the Deity, upon the diſtance between Europe and America, "that not an hatchet or a knife but muſt come over the dreadful Atlantic, and yet that Europe ſhould not be proud, nor America too diſcouraged, how have foul hands and ſmoaky houſes the laſt handling of thoſe furs which are often worn upon the hands of Queens and heads of Princes."

PREVIOUS to the diſcovery and ſettlement of America, the ſpirit of commerce began to prevail, the lower claſſes in life to have the idea and taſte the bleſſings of property; the ſeverity of the Gothic conſtitutions abated by the diffuſive opulence of the commons, and the human mind roufed from its long and deep ignorance puſhed its purſuit in ſcience, by this revival of learning was a new world diſcovered, reſcued by the happieſt incident from dark oblivion; after this, the conſequences of the reformation highly contributed to the ſettlement of America, for men, freed from their bondage to the ſee of Rome, from the ſhackles of implicit faith and infallibility, became ſole judges of what was naturally left to their reaſon and

conſcience;

conſcience; unhappily the deſpotiſm of Elizabeth unaided by religious principles endeavoured to cramp and fetter the mind, but then, liberty was too prevalent and exile moſt eligible; James the pedant, without genius, without ſpirit, purſued the ſteps and with equal ſucceſs, till the bigotted views of Laud cloſed the ſcene, and drove multitudes hither; and to ſuch unthankful meaſures are many of our flouriſhing ſettlements owing; affording a full proof how ſlightly the principles of toleration were underſtood by this party, ſince the meaſures they took increaſed their opponents, and drove them into America, verifying the old adage,

Sanguis martyri ſemen eſt eccleſiæ.

I enter not into the merits of the ſeparation of the church of England from that of Rome, or of the diſſenters from the church of England, an unity of faith and worſhip ſeems however impracticable; men have ſuch different educations, and their natural tempers and diſpoſitions are ſo extremely various, that it is beyond the wit of man to deviſe a mode adapted to promote the beſt worſhip of the Deity equally in every individual, as no mode is expreſly determined in ſcripture, it is a preſumption for the natural liberty of every man's worſhiping in that way which his reaſon and conſcience dictates will beſt amend him; nor can this be within the juriſdiction of the civil magiſtrate; independent of this, impartial men muſt determine which mode is moſt friendly to liberty.

No people are more loyal, none are more fond of the diſtinguiſhed name of Engliſhmen, than thoſe born in America, none with more pleaſure revolve the increaſing importance of the colonies to their mother country, or would more liberally contribute thereto, and ſuch is the vaſt continental demand for Britiſh manufactures, that ſhould the neceſſary taxes upon trade enable foreigners to underſell her, here will be found a retreat for them all: This demand continually increaſing

creaſing will in one century more take off all the manufactures of Great-Britain, (who in return may receive the produce of every other clime) for there is not an equal number of people in the Britiſh dominions beſides, that conſume ſo great a proportion of her manufactures as the people upon this continent; nor is there the produce of any climate to which ſome part of this vaſt continent is not ſuited. In this light America may be the ſalvation of Great Britain, and gratefully retaliate the protection ſo liberally afforded, even admitting it was diſintereſtedly done. How vaſtly ill then is the policy of cramping the colonies, which muſt conſequently leſſen their importation from Great-Britain. Such a policy would like all other extremes work its own ruin, the merchants in England would ſoon find the ill policy of burthening the plantations, rendering them utterly incapable of paying their debts, and when this ſhall become general, private miniſterial views muſt yield to public utility.

WHERE there are great tracts of land to clear and render fit for cultivation, as it is a long while before it pays the labour expended upon it, the owners muſt be debtors ſomewhere, and in a country full of ſuch land, that is daily improving, the debtor ſide will long remain againſt it; thoſe who immediately clear the land are indebted even for ſuſtenance, to the merchants of the trading towns, and theſe in return are indebted to England, in conſequence of the extenſive credits neceſſary here. Thus new colonies, new countries, are always in debt; but when agriculture is fully eſtabliſhed, when the country is well peopled, at ſuch a period the beam imperceptibly ſhifts, and leaves the country in its natural ſtate, free of debt. If the legiſlatures of the colonies were intent upon this, ſuch ſyſtems of laws might be formed, adapted to the genius of each colony as would in time enable them to pay

their

their debt to Great Britain and become daily more uſeful and beneficial to her; but what inducements has the chief magiſtrate in the ſeveral colonies to ſtudy their intereſts, ſo extremely precarious is the tenure of their poſts, that naturally, our governors are more intent to preſerve their intereſt at court by a complaiſance to its *meaſures*, than to cultivate and improve the province over which they preſide, unleſs ſome patriot, comprehenſive miniſter ſhould ariſe, the beſt court to whom would be the increaſing and encouraging the colonies; then there are ſo many little feuds and diviſions in all the colonies (the evil of petty governments) that the *intereſts* of the public are oftentimes neglected for private emolument or animoſity. On the other hand, ſuch is the firm and broad baſis upon which the commercial intereſts of Great-Britain are founded, that did ſhe advert to the improving and cultivating her colonies, had ſhe a thorough knowledge of the abilities of each of them, to what particular produce they were naturally inclined, ſhe might effectually apply encouragements and rewards, the beſt prompts to human induſtry, and thereby raiſe ſuch a commercial ſpirit as diffuſing itſelf through all ranks, would render her the Emporium of commerce, the arbiter of power, and independent of foreign ſtates, finding a full employ for her vaſt ſhipping amongſt her own colonies, found her ſecurity upon that natural and firmeſt baſis, her naval power. It is the intereſt of Great-Britain to encourage every American produce, and what article of commerce cannot be cultivated there? Sad is the policy to take off from foreigners what our own colonies can produce; indeed, theſe foreigners take off ſome Britiſh manufactures; but the colonies would take off a much greater quantity, were they enabled to pay for them, by an encouragement of what foreigners ſupply Great-Britain with; which is doubly advantageous; both employ-

ing and enriching the manufacturer in Great-Britain, and increaſing and ſtrengthening the Britiſh intereſts in America, this certain and beneficial rotation reſults from an encouragement of the colonies, a point much more intereſting than any political views by ſupporting a foreign commerce.

In a colony the preſervation of the metropolitan form of government muſt be politically beſt, a ſimilitude only external, begets love and eſteem and weaves more firmly our mutual intereſts; but a diverſity tho' only in the form tends to leſſen the connection, and creates an idea of diſtinction by each carefully to be avoided. There is a paſſage in Tacitus which ſhews that the Romans entertained the ſame ſentiments, ſpeaking of ſome colonies lately eſtabliſhed, he ſays, "Non enim ut olim univerſæ legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus, et ſuis cujuſque ordinis militibus, ut conſenſu et caritate rempublicam efficerent."* To preſerve the greateſt ſimilitude poſſible was regarded as the firmeſt band of concord; ſo carefully did they baniſh every kind of diſtinction, that even the weights and meaſures of that extenſive empire were reduced to the ſame ſtandard, the ſlighteſt incidents often creating unhappy diverſions. A remarkable paſſage from the ſame author is worthy obſervation; mentioning the revolution under Octavius, he ſays, Neque provinciæ illum rerum ſtatum abnuebant ſuſpecto ſenatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magiſtratuum; invalido legum auxillio, quæ vi, ambitu, poſtremo pecunia turbebantur.† Thus it was from oppreſſion at home, from laws entirely deſtroyed by ſubornation and bribery, from the ſelfiſh purſuits of great men to make prey of them, that the provinces were not averſe to a revolution. The ſame cauſes will produce like effects; human nature rejoices at the misfortunes of its oppreſſors, even when involved therein itſelf.

Montesquieu

* Ann. Tacit. Lib. 14. † Ib. Lib. pri.

MONTESQUIEU has well commented upon this paſſage in Tacitus, ſays he, "From oppreſſion the ſtrength of the colonies made no addition to, but rather weakned the ſtrength of the republic; hence it was that the provinces looked upon the loſs of the liberty of Rome as the epocha of their own freedom."* Where the legiſlature, or the individuals of it may be intereſted to draw private advantages from the oppreſſion of the colonies, either by commerce, or any other methods, they are generally heavily oppreſſed, and conſequently can have no cordial affection for ſuch tyrannic oppreſſors: It is poſſible to conceive theſe points carried ſo far as to looſen the bands of ſociety, diſſolve all affection and regard, and place men in a ſtate of nature.

THE good policy of modern governments hath promiſed every immunity and priviledge to thoſe who emigrate to their colonies; this is at leaſt merited; hard indeed is it to quit the pleaſant ſcenes of one's native country to explore new and dreary regions; this was aſſured in the moſt ſolemn manner to the emigrants to this country, it was upon the faith of theſe engagements they ventured over, and employed their whole time and fortune in cultivating and improving the country, in extirpating the ſavage inhabitants, incidentally laying the foundation of the moſt extenſive commerce, and in ſpreading the gay face of ſmiling plenty over fields now fertile and cumbrous, which once were bogs and wilderneſs; how cruel then, how injurious would it be, to deprive us of any of thoſe priviledges enſured to us by royalty itſelf, enſured to us "by the Majeſty of the Engliſh nation," priviledges virtually and eſſentially inherent in every Engliſhman, and not eradicable without annihilating the name. Unhappy indeed is that people, who under the ſpecious pretence of liberty feel the ſame oppreſſions and hardſhips undergone by the ſubjects of the moſt deſpotic tyranny!

* Lib. II. C. 19.

An Engliſhman, wherever he is, in whatever climate, whether upon the frozen cliffs of Lapland, or the ſandy deſarts of Lybia, is ſtill free, and carries in his generous boſom that native love of liberty, characteriſtic of his country; it is for the preſervation of this valued gem that torrents of the nobleſt blood have flowed; it is for this he owes and pays allegiance to his King and Country; deprive him! on ſuch terms, his noble heart would diſdain exiſtence; a life of ignominy is only worth the attention of a ſlave, it is below the concern of a man.*

In ſubordinate colonies, that have power of legiſlation, it is extream ill policy to make ſevere laws; laws of the ſlighteſt tendency to infringe liberty; if they are ſubmitted to, they imperceptibly deſtroy it, and the tranſition is eaſy from infringements of our own, to a ſubmiſſion to thoſe of the metropolis, affording a fine leading clue to fettter us in chains wrought out by our own workmanſhip; thus one ſevere law of our own, unfriendly to liberty, operates more powerfully againſt us than the ſevereſt oppreſſions from abroad; it not only induces an habit of ſubmiſſion, but is a fine exemplar for higher authority, if inclined, to found its deſigns upon; and is a weapon well armed againſt our ſelves, precedential, to what lengths oppreſſions may be carried, whether we will or will not.

The laws of all colonies ſhould in their letter as well as ſpirit breathe the moſt generous ſentiments of liberty, inſtead of leſſening thoſe ſentiments inſpired by the metropolitan government, we ſhould rather extend them, as convincing proofs of an attachment to freedom, and that the loſs of life would be far more eligible; feeble and weak muſt be our efforts, yet let us eſſay by the moſt legal methods to oppoſe the ſlighteſt

* Ipſi Britanni delectum, ac tributa et injuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, ſi injuriæ abſint: has ægre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut ſerviant, is the character Tacitus gives of the ancient Britons in his life of Agricola.

ſlighteſt appearance of oppreſſion, as a monſter which would ſoon overwhelm us. By oppreſſion and tyranny the moſt fertile countries, the happieſt climates have been involved in univerſal ruin. Look on the barren plains of once fertile Greece; where are its inhabitants? where are its cities? Blaſted and deſtroyed by the cruel hand of deſpotiſm. It is juſt, it is right, to ſhew a ſenſibility, an unbrookableneſs to oppreſſion; did we not, we might juſtly merit that deſpiſion and inſult due only to ſlaves. There are times, there are occaſions, when one cannot be too warm, one cannot feel too intereſted! †

No ſubordinate government can have that firmneſs, that vigour, inherent in the metropolitan; where liberty is in the ſlighteſt degree controuled, a diffidence ariſes which ſhakes the reſolution of the moſt determined. Another unhappineſs ſuch governments labour under is, that being at a diſtance, unrepreſented, yet uſually controuled, it becomes a popular opinion, that they are different from other ſubjects, and retain not the priviledges of thoſe who remain at home; this idea of a partial legiſlative power over the colonies aptly creates an opinion of a general one; the mind is forever puſhing its favourite point, and every encroachment ſubmitted to, ſtimulates to a further advance; from frequent converſation this opinion becomes general, and is adopted with all the warmth of popular error; It appears novel for the coloniſts to contend for their legal and conſtitutional rights; yet neither from the old grants, charters or determinations can any precedent be eſtabliſhed to prejudice our natural inherent indiſſeminable right, as Engliſhmen, to every Britiſh priviledge; directly the contrary: Nor can there be ſtronger terms uſed than may be found in the charter to this province, granted by King William and

† Nihil profici patientia, niſi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. AGRIC. VIT.

and Queen Mary, thoſe glorious friends to civil and religious liberty; it is there declared, that thoſe who go to, or inhabit this province, and all their children, born there, or on the ſeas, going to or returning from thence, ſhall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural ſubjects within any of the Britiſh dominions, to all intents, conſtructions and purpoſes whatſoever, as if they and every one of them were born in England. Can language be more explicit? How cruel then is it to adduce as a proof of our loſs of freedom, what is one of our greateſt hardſhips, that we have no ſhare in the legiſlation. I own, however, that to vulgar minds this deficiency is apt to create a diſtinction, which no man of common ſenſe can entertain upon reflection. One would think that the ſacrifice we made of our native country ſhould plead ſtrongly for indulgencies rather than reſtrictions.

ADMITTING then the right of the colonies to Engliſh priviledges which can fairly be proved, only one rule remains to direct the ſupreme legiſlature in controuling them, and that is the rule to which all others muſt ſubmit, viz. Salus populi. Where this is not injured by the conduct of the coloniſts one may humbly preſume they cannot be controuled unleſs by their own conſent, nor upon the principles of liberty can they be taxed, or in ſofter words obliged to pay any duties or acknowledgments, for what they have a right to enjoy, what advantages and not injures the Britiſh empire moſt extenſively conſidered, if they are obliged to (in a Utopian government I would venture to call it deſpotiſm) in any government, it is the higheſt infringement of liberty, it is the levying a tax upon a country without its conſent, without being repreſented, directly contrary to the great charter of the realm to which we have the moſt undoubted right by our charter as well as by common ſenſe.

IN

In 1719 the houſe of commons declared that the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to leſſen their dependence upon Great Britain; in the preſent year 1764, the ſevereſt reſtrictions are laid upon their trade, which enabled them to take off great quantities of her manufactures, and prevented them from running into manufactories themſelves, by the facility with which they could pay for Britiſh goods; this is a true political ſoleciſm; the fundamental principle of all commercial ſtates is to realize their labour, that is to get off their manufactures, and conſequently to encourage every trade that has ſuch a tendency.

If Great-Britain was really apprehenſive of the growth of her colonies, divide et impera will afford her full ſecurity; the colonies are ſo jealous of each other, have ſuch different intereſts and views to purſue, and frequently purſue them with ſuch animoſity and heat as prejudices the general cauſe, more than it benefits the private one; by their various forms of government and the various climates they lay in, ſuch a vaſt variety of manners and ſentiments ariſe as can never admit an hearty and ſincere coalition; add to this, whilſt Great-Britain is ſuperior in her navy ſhe can at any time deſtroy us, and the only way to preſerve this ſuperiority is by encouraging the commerce of her colonies, ſo that they are abſolutely dependent on each other, and if the Britiſh colonies were annihilated or in the hands of another power, who would not ſhudder for the fate of the Britiſh navy? There cannot be a greater ſecurity than the known loyalty and attachment of the colonies to Great-Britain; this a mild government will always enſure, and irreſiſtibly engage us to, had we ever ſo much power; but we are no more than a feather in a mighty hurricane.

During the old charter of this province, the ſame manners and ſentiments were ſupported, the old modes

and

and forms of government were ſtrictly adhered to, and many original ſtandards remaining, by their influence upon the youth, laid the foundation for the like prejudices in them. The firſt plan of the government eſtabliſhed a kind of Theocracy, by making the word of God the rule of law.* This gave the clergy infinite weight in the conſtitution; they were naturally the expoſitors of the law, and in ſo young a country were almoſt the only men of learning; from this circumſtance the attachment and deference to their cloth was almoſt implicit, and, for ought I know, to this very cauſe may the greateſt errors into which the country fell at its firſt ſettlement be aſcribed. For men may have the ſtrongeſt natural attachments to their country, to particular parties, or to particular modes of life, and yet out of theſe paths may be liberal and generous in their ſentiments; but no man, no community, under religious bigotry, under ſtrong byaſſes to the clergy, can think generouſly and freely; like a Carteſian vortex it involves every ſentiment within its own contracted ſphere; theſe prieſtly fetters are now broken, and men are more free and liberal in their ſentiments; nor ſhould the cloth regret it, for to ingenuous and ſenſible minds nothing is more painful than an undue deference and reſpect.

CONNECTICUT remaining under the ſame mode of government as at its firſt ſettlement, and having ſcarce any foreign commerce, retains nearly the ſame ſentiments and manners it had when it was firſt peopled; the borderers mixing with each other, blend their different manners, an incident generally taking place among all borderers and marchers. THE

* It appears by the conference held at White-Hall, that the Parliament commonly called Barebones Parliament, once intended to eſtabliſh the moſaical law, as the ſole ſyſtem of juriſprudence in England. The dark and prophetic ſtyle of the old teſtament was quite adapted to the bewildering fanaticiſm of thoſe times.

THE ſpirit of the new charter had a great effect upon manners; the increaſe of inhabitants calling for various civil laws, more extenſive than the biblical œconomy, the prevailing idea of a patriarchal form growing obſolete, and many principal men returning from England, where a more liberal ſpirit had prevailed ſince the happy revolution, introduced a freedom of thinking, which though at firſt ſlow in its progreſs, hath been ever ſince increaſing, and the more we viſit diſtant countries, the more liberal and extenſive will be our ideas; by being uſed to one conſtant round, one ſteady contemplation of the importance of ſelf and its connections, the mind contracts ſuch faſtidious habits, ſuch mean and narrow ſentiments as render it incapable of great and noble actions. Whilſt on the other hand, a knowledge of the various nations and manners of mankind ſhakes off the ruſt of domeſtic life. If our minds are not amended, our manners are at leaſt more elegant and polite, from the great number of ſtrangers the war hath brought amongſt us. It is a frequent complaint of old people, that the country is intirely changed within their remembrance; when you examine them whence the change is, you will generally find that we are more free and ſociable, and leſs contracted than in their day.

COLONIES grow corrupted as the mother country; our taſtes, modes, nay forms of thinking in matters of great or of no importance, are all derived therefrom, and will ever prevail by means of the conſtant intercourſe upheld, and the dependence the colonies pay their parent; it holds good thro' the whole period of this country's ſettlement, tho' prevalent proportionably to the greater or leſs intercourſe upheld, this is another ſtrong forte which the mother country has over us daily increaſing as we are kindly uſed, for we naturally imitate thoſe whom we love.

It may appear bold to hazzard an opinion that the minds of coloniſts are not in general equally elevated and generous as in the mother country; where the mind is dependent on another government, where it breathes not the pure air of liberty, its perceptions are depreſſed by the idea of dependence analogous to a proportional loſs of liberty, and habited to objects of leſs conſequence, it attaches itſelf with equal warmth as to thoſe of the higheſt importance. I was well pleaſed with an obſervation of this kind made to me by a gentleman of great abilities who had long converſed with men of the firſt rank, that it required the utmoſt extention of his ideas to keep pace with them, they were ſo accuſtomed to great and extenſive objects that all his faculties were upon the ſtretch to ſupport an equality.*

This ſituation unhappily affects the learning of the coloniſts, it will not be thorough inbred and induced by themſelves, rather drawn from the obſervations of others, for the dependence of the mind upon the government induces a ſimilar tone in all our reaſonings, and thus an unjuſt deference is frequently given to the writers of the metropolis. Since this is our ſituation, to counteract the prevalency of the principle would be a mark of great wiſdom, and by encouraging real merit diſtinguiſhed ſervice we ſhall effectually attain it; moſt men have an emulous if not an ambitious mind, and naturally are apt to adopt ſuch manners and characters as will moſt probably effect their purpoſes, if then a baſe condeſcention to the views of the meaneſt and moſt ſervile minds, if the air muſt be contorted to hypocritical grimace, the manners moulded by the ſquare of narrow ſentiments; if this is the path to honour or rather diſhonour, what men muſt mount the

* Theſe ſtrictures are extended no farther than to the factitious and artificial ſtrength of the mind ariſing from a concurrency of circumſtances.

the ſeat, what patriots can you expect? where this is the manure what fruit can ariſe? only rank and filthy weeds ſhooting thro' the muck of baſe ſentiment raiſed by the flaſhy heat of popular applauſe, and plunged into their native dirt by the blaſt of one froſty night.

YET amidſt all theſe unhappy circumſtances, when one reflects upon the great revolutions of human learning, the wretched ſtate of many countries were it once reigned ſupreme; we may anticipate America as the deſtined ſeat of ſcience, where ſhe may found an empire uncontrouled; before the invention of letters the ſtock of learning muſt have been very ſlender, its progreſs ſlow and ſcarcely adequate to retain its ground; thin was the harveſt from whence the Egyptians gleaned their knowledge; and many ages elapſed before it aroſe to any eminence amongſt the Greeks, from whom it paſſed to the Romans, and was afterwards buried in the ravages of Gothic and Saracen barbarity; the invention of printing brought it forth from its dark retreats, till by degrees it hath arrived at its preſent ſplendor; but here a new empire ariſes, and tho' in its infancy, yet the human mind is in full exertion of all its faculties, the baſis of ſcience large and expanded, and the art of printing preſerving all its inveſtigations; ſuch a country growing into importance by theſe natural advantages and ſupported by the kind hand of an indulgent parent would ſtand the faireſt chance in the annals of ſcience, and may a liberal temper, may generous actions, the certain effect of true ſcience, ever prevail.

A new country, whoſe youth have the advantage of a good education, is moſt probable to improve and flouriſh; natives have an intimate union and connection with their country unknown to a foreigner; and where their minds can be thus cultivated and enlarged, are more able to benefit it, and in a legiſlative capacity to form laws well adapted to promote its welfare.

It was meerly accidental I met with our author at a bookſeller's ſhop in London, he was ſo much eſteemed as to have paſſed a ſecond edition before this; the humour and juſtneſs of his accounts recommend him to every candid mind, and though the face of the country is in every reſpect agreeably changed ſince he wrote, yet a melancholy pleaſure mingles itſelf with our reflections upon ſuch paſt ſcenes, ſcenes irrevocable, though intereſting by our connections with the actors. The errors he adoped were errors of the day, an improved underſtanding will ſhade theſe foibles.

L'homme n'eſt qu'un roſeau le plus foible de la nature; mais c'eſt un roſeau penſant.-----Travaillons donc a bien penſer, is a fine reflection of that great thinker Monſieur Paſchal.

For myſelf, ſome notes are ſubjoined, I wiſh they may be acceptable; in our language one makes ſo ill a figure in ſpeaking of himſelf, that I will only aſk indulgence for them and for this deſultory eſſay; my utmoſt wiſh for happineſs is to promote the welfare of my country, and to render myſelf worthy the eſteem of good men.

Nequicquam illud verbum eſt: bene vult, niſi qui benefacit. Plaut.

New-

NEW-ENGLAND'S Prospect.

CHAP. I.

Of the Situation, Bays, Havens and Inlets.

FORASMUCH as the King's most excellent Majesty hath been pleased by the grant of his letters patent, at first to give life to the plantations of *New-England*, and hath daily likewise, by his favours and royal protection, cherished their growing hopes; whereby many of his Majesty's faithful subjects have been imboldened to venture persons, estates, and endeavours, to the enlargement of his dominions in that western continent: Wherefore I thought fit (for the further encouragement of those that hereafter, either by purse or person shall help forward the plantation) to set forth these few observations out of my personal and experimental knowledge.

THE place whereon the *English* have built their Colonies, is judged by those who have best skill in discovery, either to be an island, surrounded on the north side with the spacious river *Canada*, and on the south with *Hudson*'s river, or else a Peninsula; these two ri-

vers over-lapping one another, having their rise from the great lakes which are not far off one another, as the Indians do certainly inform us. But it is not my intent to wander far from our patent; wherefore I refer you to the thrice memorable discoverer of those parts, Captain *Smith*, who hath likewise fully described the southern and north-east part of *New-England*, with the noted head-lands, capes, harbours, rivers, ponds, and lakes, with the nature of the soil, and commodities both by sea and land, &c. with the degrees of forty one and forty five.

The Bay of *Massachusets* lyeth under the degree of forty two and forty three, bearing south-west from the lands end of *England*: at the bottom whereof are situated most of the *English* plantations: This bay is both safe, spacious, and deep, free from such cockling seas as run upon the coast of *Ireland*, and in the channels of *England*: There be no stiff running currents, rocks, shelves, bars, or quicksands. The mariners having sailed two or three leagues toward the bottom, may behold the two capes embracing their welcome ships in their arms, which thrust themselves out into the sea in form of a half-moon, the surrounding shore being high, and shewing many white cliffs, in a most pleasant prospect, with divers places of low land, out of which divers rivers vent themselves into the ocean, with many openings, where is good harbouring for ships of any burthen; so that if an unexpected storm or cross wind should bar the mariner from recovering his desired port, he may reach other harbours, as *Plimouth*, *Cape-Anne*, *Salem*, *Marblehead*; all which afford good ground for anchorage; being likewise land-lockt from wind and seas. The chief and usual harbour, is the still bay of *Massachusets*, which is close aboard the plantations, in which most of our ships come to anchor, being the neerest their mart, and usual place of land-

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ing of passengers; it is a safe and a pleasant harbour within, having but one common and safe entrance, and that not very broad; there scarce being room for 3 ships to come in board and board at a time, but being once within, there is room for the anchorage of 500 ships.

THIS harbour is made by a great company of islands, whose high clifts shoulder out the boisterous seas, yet may easily deceive any unskilful pilot; presenting many fair openings and broad sounds, which afford too shallow waters for ships, tho' navigable for boats and small pinnaces. The entrance into the great haven is called *Nantasket;* which is two leagues from *Boston;* this place of itself is a very good haven, where ships commonly cast anchor, until wind and tide serve them for other places; from hence they may sail to the river *Wessaguscus,** *Neponset,*‡ *Charles* river, and *Mistick* river, on which rivers be seated many towns. In many of these fore-named harbours, the seamen having spent their old store of wood and water, may have fresh supplies from the adjacent islands, with good timber to repair their weather-beaten ships: Here likewise may be had masts or yards, being store of such trees as are useful for the same purpose.

CHAP. II.

Of the Seasons of the Year, Winter and Summer, together with the Heat, Cold, Snow, Rain, and the Effects of it.

FOR that part of the country wherein most of the *English* have their habitation; it is for certain the best ground and sweetest climate in all those parts, bearing the name of *New-England,* agreeing well with the temper of our *English* bodies, being high land, and sharp air; and though most of our *English* towns border upon the sea coast, yet they are not often troubled

* Weymouth. ‡ Milton.

with mists, or unwholsome fogs, or cold weather from the sea, which lies east and south from the land. And whereas in *England* most of the cold winds and weathers come from the sea, and those situations are counted most unwholsome, that are near the sea-coast; in that country it is not so, but otherwise; for in the extremities of winter, the north-east and south wind coming from the sea, produceth warm weather, and bringing in the warm working waters of the sea, loosneth the frozen bays, carrying away their ice with their tides, melting the snow, and thawing the ground; only the north-west wind coming over the land is a cause of extreme cold weather, being always accompanied with deep snows and bitter frost, so that in two or three days the rivers are passable for horse and man. But as it is an axiom in nature, *Nullum violentum est perpetuum*, No extreams last long; so this cold wind blows seldom above three days together, after which the weather is more tolerable, the air being nothing so sharp, but peradventure in four or five days after this cold messenger will blow afresh, commanding every man to his house, forbidding any to outface him without prejudice to their noses. But it may be objected, that it is too cold a country for our *Englishmen*, who have been accustomed to a warmer climate; to which it may be answered *(Igne levatur hyems)* There is wood good store, and cheap, to build warm houses, and make good fires, which makes the winter less tedious; and moreover, the extremity of this cold weather lasteth but for two months, or ten weeks, beginning in *December*, and breaking up the tenth day of *February*, which hath become a passage very remarkable, that for ten or a dozen years the weather hath held himself to his day, unlocking his icy bays and rivers, which are never frozen again the same year, except there be some small frost until the middle of *March*. It is observed

by

by the *Indians* that every tenth year there is little or no winter, which hath been twice observed by the *English;* the year of *New-Plimouth* mens arrival was no winter in comparison; and in the tenth year after likewise,* when the great company settled themselves in *Massachusetts Bay*, was a very mild season, little frost, and less snow, but clear serene weather, few north-west winds, which was a great mercy to the *English* coming over so rawly and uncomfortably provided, wanting all utensils and provisions, which belonged to the well-being of planters: And whereas many died at the beginning of the plantations, it was not because the country was unhealthful, but because their bodies were corrupted with sea-diet, which was naught, the beef and pork being tainted, their butter and cheese corrupted, their fish rotten, and the voyage long, by reason of cross winds, so that winter approaching before they could get warm houses, and the searching sharpness of that purer climate, creeping in at the crannies of their crazed bodies, caused death and sickness; but their harms have taught future voyagers more wisdom, in shipping good provision for sea, and finding warm houses at landing, find health in both. It hath been observed, that of five or six hundred passengers in one year, not above three have died at sea, having their health likewise at land. But to return to the matter in hand, daily observations make it apparent, that the peircing cold of that country produceth not so many noisome effects, as the raw winters of *England.* In public assemblies it is strange to hear a man sneeze or cough, as ordinarily they do in old *England;* yet not to smother any thing, lest you judge me too partial in reciting good of the country, and not bad; true it is, that some venturing too nakedly in extremity of cold, being more fool-hardy than wise, have for a time lost the use of their feet, others the use of their fingers; but

* 1630.

but time and ſurgery afterwards recovered them. Some have had their over-grown beards ſo frozen together, that they could not get their ſtrong water bottles into their mouths. I never heard of any that utterly periſhed at land with cold, ſaving one *Engliſhman* and an *Indian*, who going together a fowling, the morning being fair at their ſetting out, afterwards a terrible ſtorm ariſing, they intended to return home; but the ſtorm being in their faces, and they not able to withſtand it, were frozen to death, the *Indian* having gained three flight-ſhot more of his journey homeward, was found reared up againſt a tree with his *aqua-vitæ* bottle at his head. A ſecond paſſage (concerning the which many think hardly of the country in regard of the cold) was the miſcarriage of a boat at ſea; certain men having intended a voyage to *New-Plimouth*, ſetting ſail towards night, they wanted time to fetch it, being conſtrained to put into another harbour, where being negligent of the well-mooring of their boat, a ſtrong wind coming from the ſhore in the night, looſened the killock, and drove them to ſea, without ſight of land, before they had awaked out of ſleep, but ſeeing the imminent danger, ſuch as were not benummed with cold, ſhipt out their oars, ſhaping their courſe for *Cape Cod*, where the *Indians* met them, who buried the dead, and carried the boat with the living to *Plimouth*, where ſome of them died, and ſome recovered. Theſe things may fright ſome, but being that there hath been many paſſages of the like nature in our *Engliſh* climate, it cannot diſhearten ſuch as ſeriouſly conſider it, ſeeing likewiſe that their own ruins ſprung from their own negligence.

The country is not ſo extreamly cold, unleſs it be when the north-weſt wind is high, at other times it is ordinary for fiſhermen to go to ſea in *January* and *February*, in which time they get more fiſh, and better than

than in summer, only observing to reach some good harbours before night, where by good fires they sleep as well and quietly (having the main-sail tented at their backs, to shelter them from the wind) as if they were at home.* To relate how some *English* bodies have borne out cold, will (it may be) startle the belief of some, it being so strange, yet not so strange as true. A certain man being something distracted, broke away from his keeper, and running into the wood could not be found with much seeking after; but four days being expired, he returned, to appearance as well in body, as at his egress, and in mind much better: For a mad man to hit home through the unbeaten woods, was strange; but to live without meat or drink in the deep of winter, stranger; and yet return home bettered, was most strange: But if truth may gain belief, you may behold a more superlative strangeness. A certain maid in the extremity of cold weather (as it fell out) took an uncertain journey, in her intent short, not above four miles, yet long in event; for losing her way, she wandered six or seven days in most bitter weather, not having one bit of bread to strengthen her, sometimes a fresh spring quenched her thirst, which was all the refreshment she had; the snow being upon the ground at first, she might have track'd her own foot-steps back again, but wanting that understanding, she wandered till God by his special providence brought her to the place she went from, where she lives to this day.

THE

* The vast continent behind us (covered with immense tracts of snow) condenseth the air, and renders our winters so cold---and in summer is one great occasion of our excessive heats, the wind passing over great tracts of land intensely heated by the sun---Bordering upon the great lakes, an easterly wind brings a dry cold snow---and a westerly one the contrary, but upon this east coast of *America* we find it quite the reverse ---and when an easterly wind prevails in summer, we always find

The hard winters are commonly the fore-runners of pleasant spring-times, and fertile summers, being judged likewise to make much for the health of our *English* bodies: It is found to be more healthful for such as adventure thither, to come towards winter, than in the hot summer; the climate in winter is commonly cold and dry, the snow lies long, which is thought to be no small nourishing to the ground. For the *Indians* burning it to suppress the under-wood, which else would grow all over the country, the snow falling not long after, keeps the ground warm, and with his melting conveys the ashes into the pores of the earth, which doth fatten it. It hath been observed, that *English* wheat and rye proves better, which is winter sown, and is kept warm by the snow, than that which is sown in the spring. The summers be hotter than in *England*, because of their more southern latitude, yet are they tolerable; being often cooled with fresh blowing winds, it seldom being so hot as men are driven from their labours, especially such whose employments are within doors, or under the cool shade: Servants have hitherto been privileged to rest from their labours in extream hot weather from ten of the clock till two, which they regain by their early rising in the morning, and double diligence in cool weather. The summers are commonly hot and dry, there being seldom any rains; I have known it six or seven weeks before one shower hath moistened the plowman's labour,

find the weather cold and raw----but a westerly brings drought and heat. As the land becomes clear our winters grow milder, tho' not to such a degree as is generally imagined, for the vast wilds, uncultivated, beyond our most extended frontiers will forever affect our climate. An *Irish* gentleman observed that there was a visible alteration in *Ireland* within these thirty years, the climate was more mild and temperate, which he imputed solely to the draining of the bogs, and the improvement of the soil. *Note in 3d edition*

labour, yet the harvest hath been very good, the *Indian* corn requiring more heat than wet; for the *English* corn, it is refresh'd with the nightly dews, till it grow up to shade his roots with his own substance from the parching sun. In former times the rain came seldom, but very violently, continuing his drops (which were great and many) sometimes four and twenty hours together; sometimes eight and forty, which watered the ground for a long time after; but of late the seasons be much altered, the rain coming much oftner, but more moderately, with lesser thunder and lightnings, and sudden gusts of wind. I dare be bold to affirm it, that I saw not so much rain, raw colds, and misty fogs in four years in those parts, as was in *England* in the space of four months the last winter; yet no man at the year's end, complained of too much drought, or too little rain. The times of most rain, are in the beginning of *April*, and at *Michaelmas*. The early springs and long summers make but short autumns and winters. In the spring, when the grass begins to put forth, it grows apace, so that where it was all black by reason of winters burnings, in a fortnight there will be grass a foot high. †

CHAP. III.

Of the Climate, Length and Shortness of Day and Night, with suitableness of it to the English Bodies for Health and Sickness.

THE country being nearer the equinoctial than *England*, the days and nights are more equally divided. In summer the days are two hours shorter, and likewise in winter two hours longer than in *England*. In a word, both summer and winter is more commended of the *English* there, than the summer winters,

† This is generally the case of new lands—the soil being very rank.

winters, and winter summers of *England;* and who is there that could not wish that *England*'s climate were as it hath been in quondam times, colder in winter, and hotter in summer? Or who would condemn that which is as *England* hath been? *Virginia* having no winter to speak of, but extreme hot summers, hath dried up much *English* blood, and by pestiferous diseases swept away many lusty bodies, changing their complexion, not into swarthiness, but into paleness; so that when as they come for trading into our parts, we can know many of them by their faces. This alteration certainly comes not from any want of victuals or necessary food, for their soil is very fertile and pleasant, yielding both corn and cattle plenty, but rather from the climate, which indeed is found to be hotter than is suitable to an ordinary *English* constitution.

In *New-England* both men and women keep their ordinary complexions, insomuch as seamen wonder, when they arrive in those parts, to see their countrymen so fresh and ruddy: If the sun doth tan any, yet the winter's cold restores them to their former complexion; and as it is for the outward complexion, so it is for the inward constitution; not very many being troubled with inflammations, or such diseases as are increased by too much heat: and whereas I say not very many, yet dare I not exclude any; for death being certain to all, in all nations there must be something tending to death of like certainty. The soundest bodies are mortal and subject to change, therefore fall into diseases, and from diseases to death. Now the two chief messengers of mortality be *fevers* and *callentures;* but they be easily helped, if taken in time, and as easily prevented of any that will not prove a meer fool to his body. For the common diseases of *England* they be strangers to the *English* now in that land. To my knowledge I never knew any that had the Pox, Measles, Green-sickness, Head-aches, Stone, or Consumptions,

ſumptions, &c. Many that come infirm out of *England* retain their old grievances ſtill; and ſome that were long troubled with lingering diſeaſes, as coughs of the lungs, conſumptions, &c. have been reſtored by that medicinal climate to their former ſtrength and health. God hath been pleaſed ſo to bleſs men in the health of their bodies, that I dare confidently ſay it, out of that town from whence I came, in three years and a half, there died but three, one of which was crazed before he came into the land; the other two were children born at one birth before their time, the mother being accidentally hurt. To make good which loſſes, I have ſeen four children baptized at a time, which wipes away the common aſperſion, that women have no children, being a meer falſity, there being as ſweet luſty children as in any other nation, and reckoning ſo many for ſo many, more double births than in *England;* the women likewiſe having more ſpeedy recovery, and gathering of ſtrength after their delivery than in *England.*

THE laſt argument to confirm the healthfulneſs of the country, ſhall be from mine own experience, who altho' in *England* I was brought up tenderly under the careful hatching of my deareſt friends, yet ſcarce could I be acquainted with health, having been let blood ſix times for the *Pleuriſy* before I went; likewiſe being aſſailed with other weakning diſeaſes; but being planted in that new ſoil and healthful air, which was more correſpondent to my nature (I ſpeak it with praiſe to the merciful God) tho' my occaſions have been to paſs through heat and cold, wet and dry, by ſea and land, in winter and ſummer, day by day, for four days together, yet ſcarce did I know what belonged to a day's ſickneſs.*

* Adults, tranſplanted from the equable climates of *Europe*, live long in theſe northern parts of *America;* the temperateneſs of their native country gives a firmneſs to their fibres, originally better

CHAP. IV.

Of the Nature of the Soil.

THE Soil is for the general a warm kind of earth, there being little cold ſpewing land, no moriſh fenns, no quagmires, the loweſt grounds be the marſhes, over which every full and change the ſea flows: Theſe marſhes be rich ground, and bring plenty of hay, of which the cattle feed and like, as if they were fed with the beſt upland hay in *New-England;* of which likewiſe there is great ſtore, which grows commonly between the marſhes and the woods. This meadow ground lies higher than the marſhes, whereby it is freed from the over-flowing of the ſea; and beſides this, in many places where the trees grow thin, there is good fodder to be got amongſt the woods. There be likewiſe in divers places near the plantations great broad meadows, wherein neither ſhrub nor tree, lying low, in which plains grow as much graſs, as may be thrown out with a ſcythe, thick and long, as high as a man's middle; ſome as high as the ſhoulders, ſo that a good mower may cut three loads in a day. But many object this is but coarſe fodder: True it is, that it is not ſo fine to the eye as *Engliſh* graſs, but it is not ſour, tho' it grow thus rank; but being made into hay, the cattle eat it as well as if it were lea-hay, and like as well with it. I dare not think *England*

better than ours, which enables them to bear the rigorous viciſſitudes to which this climate, above all others is ſubject; whilſt *Americans*, whoſe frequent great relaxations, whereby the ſecretions become highly obſtructed, require as great a proportionable bracing to impel theſe obſtructions, which they cannot find in the moiſt climates of *Europe*; conſequently, they ſoon decline into dropſies, pulmonary conſumptions, and other diſeaſes, the effects of great relaxations.

For this note, I with pleaſure acknowledge myſelf indebted to an ingenious phyſician, who hath long indulged me with his friendſhip.

England can shew fairer cattle either in winter or summer, than is in those parts both winter and summer, being generally larger and better of milch, and bring forth young as ordinarily as cattle do in *England*, and have hitherto been free from many diseases that are incident to cattle in *England*.

To return to the subject in hand, there is so much hay ground in the country, as the richest voyager that shall venture thither need not fear want of fodder, tho' his herd increase into thousands, there being thousands of acres that yet was never meddled with. And whereas it hath been reported, that some have mowen a day for half a load of hay: I do not say but it may be true, a man may do as much, and get as little in *England* on *Salisbury* plain, or in any other places where grass cannot be expected: So hay-ground is not in all places in *New-England*. Wherefore it shall behove every man according to his calling and estate to look for a fit situation at the first, and if he be one that intendeth to live on his stock, to choose the grassy vallies before the woody mountains. Furthermore, whereas it hath been generally reported in many places of *England*, that the grass grows not in those places where it was cut the fore-going years, it is a meer falshood; for it grows as well the ensuing spring as it did before, and is more spiery and thick, like our *English* grass; and in such places where the cattle use to graze, the ground is much improved in the woods, growing more grassy, and less weedy. The worst that can be said against the meadow grounds, is because there is little edish, or after-pasture, which may proceed from the late mowing, more than from any thing else; but tho' the edish be not worth much, yet is there such plenty of other grass and feeding, that there is no want of winter fodder till *December*; at which time men begin to house their milch cattle and calves; Some, notwithstanding the cold of the winter, have

have their young cattle without doors, giving them meat at morning and at evening. For the more upland grounds, there be different kinds, in some places clay, some gravel, some a red sand; all which are covered with a black mould, in some places above a foot deep, in other places not so deep. There be very few that have the experience of the ground, that can condemn it of barrenness; altho' many deem it barren, because the *English* use to manure their land with fish, which they do not because the land could not bring corn without it, but because it brings more with it; the land likewise being kept in heart the longer: Besides the plenty of fish which they have for little or nothing is better so used, than cast away. But to argue the goodness of the ground, the *Indians*, who are too lazy to catch fish, plant corn eight or ten years in one place without it, having very good crops. Such is the rankness of the ground, that it must be sown the first year with *Indian* corn, which is a soaking grain, before it will be fit to receive *English* seed. In a word, as there is no ground, so purely good, as the long forced and improved grounds of *England*, so is there none so extreamly bad as in many places of *England*, that as yet have not been manured and improved, the woods of *New-England* being accounted better ground than the forrests of *England*, or woodland ground, or heathy plains.

For the natural soil, I prefer it to the county of *Surry* or *Middlesex*, which if they were not enriched with continual manurings, would be less fertile than the meanest ground in *New-England*; wherefore it is neither impossible, nor much improbable, that upon improvements the soil may be as good as any in *England*. And whereas some gather the ground to be naught, and soon out of heart, because *Plimouth* men remove from their old habitations. I answer, they do no more remove from their habitations, than the citizen

citizen which hath one house in the city, and another in the country, for his pleasure, health and profit. For altho' they have taken new plots of ground, and built houses upon them, yet do they retain their old houses still, and repair to them every Sabbath-day; neither do they esteem their old lots worse than when they first took them: What if they do not plant one of them every year? I hope it is no ill husbandry to rest the land, nor is always that the worst that lies sometimes fallow. If any man doubt of the goodness of the ground, let him comfort himself with the cheapness of it; such bad land in *England* I am sure will bring in store of good money. This ground is in some places of a soft mould, and easy to plow; in other places so tough and hard, that I have seen ten oxen toiled, their iron chains broken, and their shares and coulters much strained; but after the first breaking up it is so easy, that two oxen and a horse may plow it: There hath as good *English* corn grown there as could be desired; especially rye, oats, and barley: There hath been no great trial as yet of wheat and beans; only thus much I affirm, that these two grains grow well in gardens; therefore it is not improbable but when they can gather seed of that which is sown in the country, it may grow as well as other grain; but commonly the seed that cometh out of *England* is heated at sea, and therefore cannot thrive at land.

CHAP. V.

Of the Herbs, Fruits, Woods, Waters, and Minerals.

THE ground affords very good kitchen gardens, for turnips, parsnips, carrots, radishes, pumpions, muskmellons, isquoutersquashes, cucumbers, onions, and whatsoever grows well in *England*, grows as well there, many things being better and larger: There is likewise

wise growing all manner of herbs for meat and medicine, and not only in planted gardens, but in the woods, without either the art or help of man, as sweet marjorum, purslane, sorrel, pennyroyal, yarrow, myrtle, saxafarilla, bayes, &c. There is likewise strawberries in abundance, very large ones, some being too inches about; one may gather half a bushel in a forenoon: In other seasons there be gooseberries, bilberries, rasberries, treackleberries, hurtleberries, and currants; which being dried in the sun are little inferiour to those that our grocers sell in *England*. This land likewise affords hemp and flax, some naturally, and some planted by the *English*, with rapes if they be well managed. For such commodities as lie under ground, I cannot, out of mine own experience or knowledge, say much, having taken no great notice of such things; but it is certainly reported that there is iron-stone; and the *Indians* informed us, that they can lead us to the mountains of black lead, and have shewn us lead-ore, if our small judgment in such things does not deceive us; and tho' nobody dare confidently conclude, yet dare they not utterly deny, but that the *Spaniards* bliss may lie hid in the barren mountains. Such as have coasted the country affirm that they know where to fetch sea-coal, if wood were scarce: There is plenty of stone, both rough and smooth, useful for many things, with quarries of slate, out of which they get covering for houses; with good clay, whereof they make tiles and bricks, and pavements for their necessary uses.

For the country, it is as well watered as any land under the sun; every family, or every two families having a spring of sweet water betwixt them, which is far different from the waters of *England*, being not so sharp, but of a fatter substance, and of a more jetty colour: It is thought there can be no better water in the world, yet dare I not prefer it before good beer,

as

as ſome have done, but any man will chooſe it before bad beer, whey, or buttermilk. Thoſe that drink it be as healthful, freſh, and luſty, as they that drink beer. Theſe ſprings be not only within land, but likewiſe bordering on the ſea coaſts, ſo that ſometimes the tides overflow ſome of them, which it counted rare in moſt parts of *England*. No man hath been conſtrained hitherto to dig deep for his water, or to fetch it far, or to fetch of ſeveral waters for ſeveral uſes; one kind of water ſerving for waſhing and brewing, and other things. Now beſides theſe ſprings, there be divers ſpacious ponds in many places of the country, out of which run many ſweet ſtreams, which are conſtant in their courſe both winter and ſummer, whereat the cattle quench their thirſt, and upon which may be built water-mills, as the plantation increaſes,

THE next commodity the land affords, is good ſtore of woods, and that not only ſuch as may be needful for fuel, but likewiſe for the building of ſhips and houſes, and mills, and all manner of water-work about which wood is needful. The timber of the country grows ſtrait, and tall, ſome trees being twenty, ſome thirty foot high, before they ſpread forth their branches; generally the trees be not very thick, tho' there be many that will ſerve for mill-poſts, ſome being three foot and an half over. And whereas it is generally conceived, that the woods grow ſo thick, that there is no more clear ground than is hewed out by labour of men; it is nothing ſo: In many places, divers acres being clear, ſo that one may ride a hunting in moſt places of the land, if he will venture himſelf for being loſt: There is no underwood, ſaving in ſwamps, and low grounds that are wet, in which the *Engliſh* get oſiers, haſles, and ſuch ſmall wood as is for their uſe, Of theſe ſwamps, ſome be 10, ſome 20, and ſome 30 miles long, being preſerved by the wetneſs of the ſoil wherein they grow; for it being the cuſtom

Indian custom burning

of the *Indians* to burn the woods in *November*, when the grass is withered, and leaves dried, it consumes all the under-wood and rubbish, which otherwise would overgrow the country, making it unpassable, and spoil their much affected hunting; so that by this means in those places where the *Indians* inhabit, there is scarce a bush or bramble, or any cumbersome underwood to be seen in the more champain ground. Small wood growing in these places where the fire cannot come, is preserved. In some places where the *Indians* died of the plague some fourteen years ago, is much underwood, as in the mid-way betwixt *Wessaguscus* and *Plimouth*, because it hath not been burned; certain rivers stopping the fire from coming to clear that place of the country, hath made it unuseful and troublesome to travel through, insomuch that it is called ragged plain, because it tears and rents the cloaths of them that pass. Now because it may be necessary for mechanical artificers to know what timber, and wood of use is in the country, I will recite the most useful, as followeth.

Trees both in hills and plains, in plenty be,
The long-liv'd oak, and mournful cyprus tree;
Sky-tow'ring pines, and chesnuts coated rough,
The lasting cedar, with the wallnut tough;
The rozin-dropping fir, for masts in use,
The boatmen seek for oars, light, neat grown spruce;
The brittle ash, the ever trembling asps,
The broad-spread elm, whose concave harbours wasps;
The water spungy alder good for nought,
Small eldern by the Indian *fletchers sought;*
The knotty maple, palled birch, hawthornes,
The horn-bound tree that to be cloven scorns,
Which from the tender vine oft takes his spouse,
Who twines embracing arms about his boughs.
Within this Indian *orchard fruits be some,*
The ruddy cherry, and the jetty plumb;

Snake-

Snake-murthering hazel, with ſweet ſaxaphrage,
Whoſe ſpurns in beer allays hot fevers rage;
The dear ſhumach, with more trees there be,
That are both good to uſe, and rare to ſee. *

THOUGH many of theſe trees may ſeem to have epithets contrary to the nature of them as they grow in *England*, yet are they agreeable with the trees of that country. The chief and common timber for ordinary uſe is oak and walnut: Of oaks there be three kinds, the red oak, white, and black; as theſe are different in kind, ſo are they choſen for ſuch uſes as they are moſt fit for, one kind being fit for clapboard, others for ſawn board, ſome fitter for ſhipping, others for houſes. Theſe trees afford much maſt for hogs, eſpecially every third year, bearing a bigger acorn than our *Engliſh* oak. The walnut tree is ſomething different from the *Engliſh* walnut, being a great deal more tough, and more ſerviceable, and altogether heavy: And whereas our guns that are ſtocked with *Engliſh* walnut, are ſoon broken and cracked in froſt, being a brittle wood; we are driven to ſtock them new with the country walnut; which will endure all blows and weather; laſting time out of mind. Theſe trees bear a very good nut, ſomething ſmaller, but nothing inferiour in ſweetneſs and goodneſs to the *Engliſh* nut, having no bitter peal. There is likewiſe a tree in ſome parts of the country, that bears a nut as big as a pear. The cedar tree is a tree of no great growth, not bearing above a foot and a half at the moſt, neither is it very high. I ſuppoſe they be much inferior to the cedars of *Lebanon*, ſo much commended in holy

* This claſſic turn of our author, will hardly fail of being agreeable to the taſte of many Gentlemen, who will take a pleaſure in comparing ſome of the moſt applauded paſſages in the Georgics, with this, and ſeveral ſubſequent, poetic excurſions.

writ. This wood is more deſired for ornament than ſubſtance, being of colour red and white like eugh, ſmelling as ſweet as juniper: It is commonly uſed for cieling of houſes, and making of cheſts, boxes and ſtaves. The fir and pine be trees that grow in many places, ſhooting up exceeding high, eſpecially the pine; they do afford good maſts, good board, rozin and turpentine. Out of theſe pines is gotten the candle-wood that is ſo much ſpoken of, which may ſerve for a ſhift amongſt poor folks; but I cannot commend it for ſingular good, becauſe it is ſomething ſluttiſh, dropping a pitchy kind of ſubſtance where it ſtands. Here no doubt might be good done with ſaw mills; for I have ſeen of theſe ſtately high grown trees, ten miles together cloſe by the river ſide, from whence by ſhipping they might be conveyed to any deſired port. Likewiſe it is not improbable that pitch and tar may be forced from theſe trees, which bear no other kind of fruit. For that country aſh, it is different from the aſh of *England*, being brittle and good for little, ſo that walnut is uſed for it. The hornbound tree is a tough kind of wood, that requires ſo much pains in riving as is almoſt incredible, being the beſt to make bowls and diſhes, not being ſubject to crack or leak. This tree growing with broad ſpread arms, the vines twiſt their curling branches about them; which vines afford great ſtore of grapes, which are very big both for the grape and cluſter, ſweet and good: Theſe be of two ſorts, red and white, there is likewiſe a ſmaller kind of grape, which groweth in the iſlands, which is ſooner ripe, and more delectable; ſo that there is no known reaſon why as good wine may not be made in thoſe parts, as well as *Bourdeaux* in *France;* being under the ſame degree. It is great pity no man ſets upon ſuch a venture, whereby he might in ſmall time enrich himſelf, and benefit the country. I know nothing that doth hinder,

hinder, but want of ſkilful men to manage ſuch an employment; for the country is hot enough, the ground good enough, and many convenient hills lie toward the ſouth ſun, as if they were there placed for the purpoſe.† The cherry trees yield great ſtore of cherries, which grow on cluſters like grapes; they be much ſmaller than our *Engliſh* cherry, nothing near ſo good, if they be not very ripe; they ſo furr the the mouth that the tongue will cleave to the roof, and the throat wax hoarſe with ſwallowing thoſe red bullies (as I may call them) being little better in taſte, *Engliſh* ordering may bring them to an *Engliſh* cherry, but they are as wild as the *Indians*. The plumbs of the country be better for plumbs than the cherries be for cherries; they be black and yellow, about the bigneſs of damſons, of a reaſonable good taſte. The white thorn affords hawes as big as an *Engliſh* cherry, which is eſteemed above a cherry for his goodneſs and pleaſantneſs to the taſte.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Beaſts that live on the Land.

HAVING related unto you the pleaſant ſituation of the country, the healthfulneſs of the climate. the nature of the ſoil, with his vegetatives, and other commodities; it will not be amiſs to inform you of ſuch irrational creatures as are daily bred, and continually nouriſhed in this country, which do much conduce to the

† There is a ropy taſte in all our wild grapes; tho' it is the opinion of our beſt naturaliſts it might be corrected by cultivation. The ſouth part of this continent is well adapted for wine. The late Col. *Taſker* of *Maryland*, in one year, made more than twenty hogſheads from the *Burgundy* grape; which by good judges, were thought equal to the produce of *France*.

the well-being of the inhabitants, affording not only meat for the belly, but cloathing for the back. The beasts be as followeth:

The kingly Lion, and the strong arm'd Bear,
The large limb'd Mooses, with the tripping Deer;
Quill-darting Porcupines, and Raccoons be
Castel'd in the hollow of an aged tree;
The skipping Squirrel, Rabbet, purblind Hare,
Immured in the self same castle are,
Left, red-ey'd Ferret, wily Foxes should
Them undermine, if rampir'd but with mould;
The grim-fac'd Ounce, and rav'nous howling Wolf,
Whose meagre paunch sucks like a swallowing gulf;
Black glistering Otters, and rich coated Bever,
The Civet scented Musquash smelling ever.

Concerning Lions, I will not say that I ever saw any myself, but some affirm that they have seen a Lion at *Cape-Anne*, which is not above ten leagues from *Boston*: Some likewise being lost in the woods, have heard such terrible roarings, as have made them much agast; which must be either Devils or Lions; there being no other creatures which use to roar, saving Bears, which have not such a terrible kind of roaring: Besides *Plimouth* men have traded for Lions skins in former times. But sure it is that there be Lions on that continent, for the *Virginians* saw an old Lion in their plantation, who having lost his jackal, which was wont to hunt his prey, was brought so poor that he could go no further. For Bears they be common, being a black kind of Bear, which be most fierce in strawberry time, at which time they have young ones; at which time likewise they will go upright like a man, and climb trees, and swim to the islands; which if the *Indians* see, there will be more sportful Bear-baiting than *Paris* garden can afford. For seeing the Bears take water, an *Indian* will leap after him, where they go

go to water cuffs for bloody noſes, and ſcratched ſides; in the end the man gets the victory, riding the Bear over the watery plain till he can bear him no longer, In the winter they take themſelves to the clifts of rocks and thick ſwamps, to ſhelter them from the cold; and food being ſcant in thoſe cold and hard times, they live only by ſleeping and ſucking their paws, which keepeth them as fat as they are in ſummer; there would be more of them if it were not for the Wolves, which devour them; a kennel of thoſe ravening runnagadoes, ſetting on a poor ſingle Bear, will tear him as a Dog will tear a Kid; it would be a good change if the country had for every Wolf a Bear, upon condition all the Wolves were baniſhed; ſo ſhould the Inhabitants be not only rid of their greateſt annoyance, but furniſhed with more ſtore of proviſions, Bears being accounted very good meat, eſteemed of all men above veniſon: again, they never prey upon the *Engliſh* cattle, or offer to aſſault the perſon of any man, unleſs being vexed with a ſhot, and a man run upon him before they be dead, in which caſe they will ſtand in their own defence, as may appear by this inſtance. Two men going a fowling, appointed at evening to meet at a certain pond ſide, to ſhare equally, and to return home; one of theſe gunners having killed a Seal or Sea-calf, brought it to the pond where he was to meet his comrade, afterwards returning to the ſea ſide for more game, and having loaded himſelf with more Geeſe and Ducks, he repaired to the pond, where he ſaw a great Bear feeding on his ſeal, which cauſed him to throw down his load, and give the Bear a ſalute; which though it was but with gooſe ſhot, yet tumbled him over and over; whereupon the man ſuppoſing him to be in a manner dead, ran and beat him with the handle of his gun: The Bear perceiving him to be ſuch a coward to ſtrike him when he was down, ſcrambled up, ſtanding

standing at defiance with him, scratching his legs, tearing his cloaths and face, who stood it out till his six foot gun was broken in the middle; then being deprived of his weapon, he ran up to the shoulders into the pond, where he remained till the Bear was gone, and his mate come in, who accompanied him home.

THE beast called a Moose, ‡ is not much unlike red Deer; this beast is as big as an ox, slow of foot, headed like a Buck, with a broad beam, some being two yards wide in the head, their flesh is as good as beef, their hides good for cloathing. The *English* have some thoughts of keeping him tame, and to accustome him to the yoke, which will be a great commodity: First because they are so fruitful, bringing forth three at a time, being likewise very uberous. Secondly, because they live in winter without any fodder. There be not many of these in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, but forty miles to the north-east there be great store of them: These poor beasts likewise are much devoured by the Woolves. The ordinary Deer be much bigger than the Deer of *England*, of a brighter colour, more inclining to red, with spotted bellies; the most store of these be in winter, when the more northern parts of the country be cold for them; they desire to be near the sea, so that they may swim to the islands when they are chased by the Woolves. It is not to be thought into what great multitudes they would increase, were it not for the common devourer the Wolf: They have generally three at a time, which they hide a mile one from another, giving them suck by turns; thus they do, that if the Wolf should find one, he might miss of the other. These Deer be fat in the deep of winter; in summer it is hard catching of them with the best Greyhounds that may be procured, because they be swift of foot. Some credible persons

‡ Generally thought to be the Elk of *Europe*.

perſons have affirmed, that they have ſeen a Deer leap threeſcore feet at little or no forcement; beſides, there be ſo many old trees, rotten ſtumps, and Indian barns, that a Dog cannot well run without being ſhoulder ſhot; yet would I not diſſwade any from carrying good Dogs; for in the winter time they be very uſeful; for when the ſnow is hard frozen, the Deer being heavy, ſinks into the ſnow, the Dogs being light, run upon the top, and overtake them, and pull them down: Some by this means have gotten twenty Bucks and Does in a winter: The horns of theſe Deer grow in a ſtrait manner (overhanging their heads) that they cannot feed upon ſuch things as grow low, till they caſt their old horns. Of theſe Deer there be a great many, and more in the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, than in any other place, which is a great help and refreſhment to thoſe planters. The Porcupine is a ſmall thing not much unlike a Hedge-hog; ſomething bigger, who ſtands upon his guard, and proclaims a *Noli me tangere*, to man and beaſt that ſhall approach too near him, darting his quills into their legs and hides. The Raccoon is a deep furred beaſt, not much unlike a Badger, having a tail like a Fox, as good meat as a Lamb: there is one of them in the tower. Theſe beaſts in the day time ſleep in hollow trees, in the moon ſhine night they go to feed on clams at a low tide, by the ſea ſide, where the *Engliſh* hunt them with their Dogs. The Squirrels be of three ſorts, firſt the great grey Squirrel, which is almoſt as big as an *Engliſh* Rabbit; of theſe there be the greateſt plenty, one may kill a dozen of them in an afternoon, about three of the clock they begin to walk. The ſecond is a ſmall Squirrel, not unlike the *Engliſh* Squirrel, which doth much trouble the planters of corn, ſo that they are conſtrained to ſet divers traps, and to carry their Cats into the cornfields,

till their corn be three weeks old. The third kind is a flying Squirrel which is not very big, ſlender of body, with a great deal of looſe ſkin, which ſhe ſpreads ſquare when ſhe flies, which the wind gets, and ſo wafts her Bat-like body from place to place; it is a creature more for ſight and wonderment, than either pleaſure or profit. The Rabbits be much like ours in England. The Hares be ſome of them white, and a yard long; theſe two harmleſs creatures are glad to ſhelter themſelves from the harmful Foxes, in hollow trees; having a hole at the entrance no bigger than they can creep in at; if they ſhould make them holes in the ground, as our Engliſh Rabbits do, the undermining Reynolds would rob them of their lives, and extirpate their generation. The beaſts of offence be Squncks, Ferrets, Foxes, whoſe impudence ſometimes diverts them to the good wives Hen-rooſt, to fill their paunch: ſome of theſe be black, their furrs is of much eſteem.

The Ounce or the Wild Cat is as big as a mungrel dog: This creature is by nature fierce, and more dangerous to be met withal than any other creature, not fearing either dog or man; he uſeth to kill Deer, which he thus effecteth: Knowing the Deer's tracts, he will lie lurking in long weeds, the Deer paſſing by he ſuddenly leaps upon his back, from thence gets to his neck, and ſcratcheth out his throat: He hath likewiſe a deviſe to get Geeſe; for being much of the colour of a Gooſe, he will place himſelf cloſe by the water, holding up his bob-tail, which is like a Gooſe neck, the Geeſe ſeeing this counterfeit Gooſe, approach nigh to viſit him, who with a ſudden jerk apprehends his miſtruſtleſs prey. The *Engliſh* kill many of thoſe, accounting them very good meat. Their ſkins are a very deep kind of fur, ſpotted white and

and black on the belly. The Woolves be in ſome reſpect different from them in other countries: It was never known yet that a Wolf ever ſet upon a man or woman; neither do they trouble horſes or cows; but ſwine, goats, and red calves, which they take for deer, be often deſtroyed by them; ſo that a red calf is cheaper than a black one in that regard in ſome places: In the time of autumn, and in the beginning of the ſpring, theſe ravenous rangers do moſt frequent our *Engliſh* habitations, following the deer which come down at that time to thoſe parts. They be made much like a mungrel, being big-boned, lank-paunched, deep-breaſted, having a thick neck and head, prick ears and long ſnout, with dangerous teeth, long ſtaring hair, and a great buſh-tail: It is thought by many, that our *Engliſh* maſtiff might be too hard for them; but it is no ſuch matter; for they care no more for an ordinary maſtiff, than an ordinary maſtiff cares for a cur; many good dogs have been ſpoiled by them. Once a fair greyhound hearing them at their howlings run out to chide them, who was torn in pieces before he could be reſcued. One of them makes no more bones to run away with a pig, than a dog to run away with a marrow bone. It is obſerved that they have no joints from their head to the tail, which prevents them from leaping, or ſudden turning, as may appear by what I ſhall ſhew you. A certain man having ſhot a wolf, as he was feeding upon a ſwine, breaking his leg only, he knew not how to deviſe his death; on a ſudden, the wolf being a black one, he was loth to ſpoil his fur with a ſecond ſhot, his ſkin being worth five or ſix pounds ſterling; wherefore he reſolved to get him by the tail, and thruſt him into a river that was hard by, which effected, the wolf not being able to turn his jointleſs body to bite him, was taken. That they cannot leap, may appear by this wolf,

whoſe mouth watering at a few poor impaled kids, would needs leap over a five footed pale to be at them, but his foot ſlipping in the riſe, he fell ſhort of his deſire, and being hung in the carpenters ſtocks, howled ſo loud, that he frighted away the kids, and called the *Engliſh*, who killed him. Theſe be killed daily in ſome places or other, either by the *Engliſh* or *Indians;* who have a certain rate for every head: Yet is there little hope of their utter deſtruction, the country being ſo ſpacious, and they ſo numerous, travelling in the ſwamps by kennels; ſometimes ten or twelve are of a company. Late at night, and early in the morning, they ſet up their howlings, and call their companies together, at night to hunt, at morning to ſleep; in a word, they be the greateſt inconveniency the country hath, both for matter of damage to private men in particular, and the whole country in general.

CHAP. VII.

Beaſts living in the Water.

FOR all creatures that live both by land and water, they be firſt Otters, which be moſt of them black, whoſe fur is much uſed for muffs, and are held almoſt as dear as beaver. The fleſh of them is none of the beſt meat, but their oil is of rare uſe for many things. Secondly, Martins, a good fur for their bigneſs. Thirdly, Muſquaſhes, which be much like a beaver for ſhape, but nothing near ſo big: The male hath two ſtones which ſmell as ſweet as muſk, and being killed in winter and ſpring, never loſe their ſweet ſmell: Theſe ſkins are no bigger than a cony-ſkin, yet are ſold for five ſhillings a piece, being ſent for

for tokens into England. One good skin will perfume a whole house full of cloaths, if it be right and good. Fourthly, the Beaver, concerning whom if I should at large discourse, according to knowledge or information, I might make a volume. The wisdom and understanding of this beast will almost conclude him a reasonable creature: His shape is thick and short, having likewise short legs, feet like a mole before, and behind like a goose, a broad tail in form like a shoe soal, very tough and strong; his head is like an otter's head, saving that his teeth before be placed like the teeth of a rabbet, two above and two beneath, sharp and broad, with which he cuts down trees as thick as a man's thigh, sometimes as big as a man's body, afterwards dividing them into lengths, according to the use they are appointed for. If one Beaver be too weak to carry the log, then another helps him; if they two be too weak, then *multorum manibus grande levatur onus;* four more adding their help, being placed three to three, which set their teeth in one anothers tough tails, and laying the load on the two hindermost, they draw the log to the desired place; also tow it in the water, the strongest getting under, bearing it up that it may swim the lighter. That this may not seem altogether incredible, remember that the like almost may be seen in our ants, which will join sometimes seven or eight together in carrying a burden. These creatures build themselves houses of wood and clay, close by the ponds side, and knowing the seasons, build them answerable houses, having them three stories high, so that as land floods are raised by great rains, as the waters arise, they mount higher in their houses; as they asswage, they descend lower again. These houses are so strong, that no creature saving an industrious man with his penetrating tools, can prejudice them; their ingress and egress being under water. These make likewise

very

very good ponds, knowing whence a stream runs between two hills, they will there pitch down piles of wood, placing smaller rubbish before it, with clay and sods, not leaving, till by their art and industry they have made a firm and curious dam-head, which may draw admiration from wise understanding men. These creatures keep themselves to their own families, never parting so long as they are able to keep house together; and it is commonly said, if any Beaver accidentally light into a strange place, he is made a drudge so long as he lives there, to carry at the greater end of the log, unless he creep away by stealth. Their wisdom secures them from the *English*, who seldom or never kill any of them, being not patient to lay a long siege, or to be so often deceived by their cunning evasions, so that all the Beaver which the *English* have, comes from the *Indians*, whose time and experience fits them for that employment.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Birds and Fowls both of Land & Water.

HAVING shewed you the most desirable, useful, and beneficial creatures, with the most offensive carrions that belong to our wilderness, it remains in the next place, to shew you such kinds of *Fowl* as the country affords: They are many, and we have much variety both at sea and on land; and such as yield us much profit and honest pleasure, and are these that follow; as

The princely Eagle, and the soaring Hawk,
Whom in their unknown ways there's none can chalk;
The Humbird for some Queen's rich cage more fit,
Than in the vacant wilderness to sit;

The

The swift-wing'd Swallow sweeping to and fro,
As swift as arrow from Tartarian *bow;*
When as Aurora's *infant day new springs,*
There th' morning mounting Lark her sweet lays sings;
The harmonious Thrush, swift Pigeon, Turtle Dove,
Who to her mate does ever constant prove;
The Turkey-Pheasant, Heathcock, Partridge rare,
The carrion-tearing Crow, and hurtful Stare;
The long-liv'd Raven, th' ominous Screech-Owl,
Who tells, as old wives say, disasters foul;
The drowsy Madge, that leaves her day-lov'd nest,
And loves to rove when day-birds be at rest;
Th' Eel-murthering Hearne, and greedy Cormorant,
That near the creeks in morish marshes haunt;
The bellowing Bitterne, with the long-leg'd Crane;
Presaging winters hard, and dearth of grain;
The silver Swan that tunes her mournful breath,
To sing the dirge of her approaching death;
The tattling Oldwives, and the cackling Geese,
The fearful Gull that shuns the murthering piece;
The strong-wing'd Mallard, with the nimble Teal,
And ill-shap'd Loon, who his harsh notes doth squeal;
There Widgins, Sheldrakes, and Humilitees,
Snipes, Dippers, Sea-Larks, in whole millions flee.

The Eagles of the country be of two sorts, one like the Eagles that be in England, the other is something bigger, with a great white head, and white tail; these be commonly called Gripes; these prey upon ducks and geese, and such fish as are cast upon the sea-shore. And although the Eagle be counted King of that feathered regiment, yet there be a certain black Hawk that beats him, so that he is constrained to soar so high, till heat expel his adversary. The Hawk is much prized of the Indians, being accounted a Sagamore's ransom.

To

To speak much of Hawks, were to trespass upon my judgment, and bring upon my self a deserved censure, for abusing the Faulconer's terms; but by relation from those that have more insight in them than my self, there be divers kinds of Hawks; their aieries are easy to come by, being in the holes of rocks, near the shore, so that any who are addicted to that sport, if he will but be at the charge of finding Poultry for them, may have his desires. We could wish them well mew'd in England, for they make havock of Hens, Partridges, Heathcocks and Ducks; often hindering the fowler of his long look'd for shoot. The Humbird is one of the wonders of the country, being no bigger than a Hornet, yet hath all the dimensions of a Bird, a bill and wings, with quills, spider-like legs, small claws; for colour, she is glorious as the Rainbow; as she flies, she makes a little humming noise like a humble-bee; wherefore she is called the Humbird. The Pigeon of that country is something different from our Dove-house Pigeons in England, being more like Turtles, of the same colour; they have long tails like a Magpie; and they seem not so big, because they carry not so many feathers on their backs as our English Doves, yet are they as big in body. These come into the country to go to the north parts in the beginning of our spring, at which time (if I may be counted worthy to be believed in a thing that is not so strange as true) I have seen them fly as if the airy regiment had been Pigeons; seeing neither beginning nor ending, length or breadth of these millions. The shouting of people, the rattling of guns, and pelting of small shot could not drive them out of their course, but so they continued for four or five hours together: yet it must not be concluded that it is thus often, for it is but at the beginning of the spring and at Michaelmas, when they return to the southward; yet are there some all the year long, which are easily attained by

by ſuch as look after them. Many of them build among the pine trees, thirty miles to the north-eaſt of our plantations; joining neſt to neſt, and tree to tree by their neſts, ſo that the Sun never ſees the ground in that place, from whence the Indians fetch whole loads of them.

THE Turkey is a very large bird, of a black colour, yet white in fleſh; much bigger than our Engliſh Turkey. He hath the uſe of his long legs ſo ready, that he can run as faſt as a Dog, and fly as well as a Gooſe: of theſe ſometimes there will be forty, threeſcore and a hundred of a flock, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs; their feeding is Acorns, Hawes, and Berries, ſome of them get a haunt to frequent Engliſh corn: In winter when the ſnow covers the ground, they reſort to the ſea-ſhore to look for ſhrimps, and ſuch ſmall fiſhes at low tides. Such as love Turkey hunting muſt follow it in winter after a new fallen ſnow, when he may follow them by their tracks; ſome have killed ten or a dozen in half a day; if they can be found towards an evening, and watched where they perch, if one come about ten or eleven of the clock, he may ſhoot as often as he will, they will ſit, unleſs they be ſlenderly wounded. Theſe Turkies remain all the year long; the price of a good Turkey Cock is four ſhillings; and he is well worth it, for he may be in weight forty pounds; a Hen two ſhillings, Pheaſants be very rare; but Heathcocks and Partridges be common; he that is a good husband, and will be ſtirring betimes, may kill half a dozen in a morning.

THE Partridges are bigger than they are in England; the fleſh of the Heathcocks is red, and the fleſh of the Partridge white, their price is four pence a piece. The Ravens and Crows are much like them of other countries. There are no Magpies, Jackdaws, Cuckoos, Jayes, &c.* The Stares, or Blackbirds, be

* Of theſe birds there is now a great plenty.

bigger than thoſe of England, as black as Crows, being the moſt troubleſome and injurious bird of all other; pulling up the corn by the roots, when it is young, ſo that thoſe who plant by reedy and ſeggy places, where they frequent, are much annoyed by them, they being ſo audacious that they fear not guns, or their fellows hung upon poles; but the corn having a week or nine days growth is paſt their ſpoiling. The Owls be of two ſorts; the one being ſmall, ſpeckled like a Partridge, with ears; the other being a great Owl, almoſt as big as an Eagle, his body being as good meat as a Partridge. Cormorants be as numerous as other fowls, which deſtroy abundance of ſmall fiſh; theſe be not worth the ſhooting, becauſe they be the worſt fowls for meat, taſting rank, and fiſhy; again, one may ſhoot twenty times and miſs; for ſeeing the fire in the pan, they dive under water before the ſhot comes to the place where they were: They uſe to rooſt upon the tops of trees and rocks, being a very heavy drowſy creature, ſo that the Indians will go in canoes in the night and take them from the rocks, as eaſily as women take a Hen from rooſt: No ducking ponds can afford more delight than a lame Cormorant and two or three luſty dogs. The Crane, although he be almoſt as tall as a man, by reaſon of his long legs and neck; yet is his body rounder than other fowls, not much unlike the body of a Turkey. I have ſeen many of theſe fowls, yet did I never ſee one that was fat, though very ſleaky; I ſuppoſe it is contrary to their nature to grow fat: Of theſe there be many in ſummer, but none in winter; their price is two ſhillings. There be likewiſe many Swans, which frequent the freſh ponds and rivers, ſeldom conſorting themſelves with ducks and geeſe; theſe be very good meat, the price of one is ſix ſhillings. The Geeſe of the country be of three ſorts, firſt a Brant Gooſe,

Goose, which is a Goose almost like the wild Goose in England, the price of one of these is six pence. The second kind is a white Goose, almost as big as an English tame Goose; these come in great flocks about Michaelmas, sometimes there will be two or three thousand in a flock, those continue six weeks, and so fly to the southward, returning in March, and staying six weeks more, returning to the northward; the price of one of these is eight pence. The third kind of Geese is a great grey Goose with a black neck, and a black and white head, strong of flight; and these be a great deal bigger than the ordinary Geese of England, some very fat, and in the spring full of feathers, that the shot can scarce pierce them; most of these Geese remain with us from Michaelmas to April; they feed on the sea upon grass in the bays at low water, and gravel, and in the woods of Acorns, having as other fowl have, their pass and repass to the northward and southward: the accurate marksmen kill of these both flying and sitting; the price of a good grey Goose is eighteen pence. The Ducks of the country be very large ones and in great abundance, so there is of Teal likewise; the price of a Duck is six pence, of a Teal three pence. If I should tell you how some have killed a hundred Geese in a week, fifty Ducks at a shot, forty Teal at another, it may be counted almost impossible, though nothing more certain. The Oldwives be a fowl that never leave tatling day or night, something bigger than a Duck. The Loon is an ill-shap'd thing like a Cormorant; but that he can neither go nor fly; he maketh a noise sometimes like a Sow-gelder's horn. The Humilities or Simplicities (as I may rather call them) be of two sorts, the biggest being as big as a green Plover, the other as big as birds that we call Knots in England. Such is the simplicity of the smaller sorts of these birds, that one may drive them on a

heap like so many sheep, and seeing a fit time, shoot them; the living seeing the dead, settle themselves on the same place again, among which the fowler discharges again. I my self have killed twelve score at two shots; these birds are to be had upon sandy brakes at the latter end of summer, before the Geese come in. Thus much I have shewed you as I know to be true concerning the Fowl of the country. But methinks I hear some say that this is very good if they could be caught, or likely to continue, and that much shooting will fright away the fowls: True it is, that every ones employment will not permit him to fowl; what then? yet their employments furnish them with silver guns with which they may have it more easy. For the frighting of the fowl; true it is that many go blurting away their powder and shot, that have no more skill to kill, or win a Goose, than many in England that have rusty muskets in their houses, know what belongs to a soldier, yet they are not much affrighted. I have seen more living and dead the last year, than I have done in former years.†

CHAP. IX.

Of Fish.

HAVING done with these, let me lead you from the land to the sea, to view what commodities may come from thence; there is no country known, that yields more variety of Fish winter and summer; and that not only for the present spending and sustenation of the plantations, but likewise for trade into other

† By hunting them unseasonably, many species of these birds are almost extinct, not an Heathcock is to be met with, scarcely remain any Quails, and the want of Partridges, *Apicius* will soon regret. The preservation of the game hath not

other countries, so that those which have had stages and make fishing voyages into those parts, have gained (it is thought) more than the Newfoundland fishermen. Codfish in these seas are larger than in Newfoundland, six or seven making a quintal; whereas they have fifteen to the same weight; and though this may seem a base and more contemptible commodity in the judgment of more neat adventurers, yet it hath been the enrichment of other nations, and is likely to prove no small commodity to the planters, and likewise to England, if it were thoroughly undertaken. At this time being yearly used, a great return is made to the west country merchants of Bristol, Plimouth and Barnstable. Salt may be had from the salt islands, and it is supposed may be made in the country. The chief fish for trade is a Cod, but for the use of the country, there is all manner of fish as followeth.

The king of waters, the sea-shouldering Whale,
The snuffing Grampus, with the oily Seal;
The storm-presaging Porpus, Herring-Hog,
Line shearing Shark, the Catfish, and Sea Dog;
The scale-fenc'd Sturgeon, wry-mouth'd Hollibut,
The flouncing Salmon, Codfish, Greedigut;
Cole, Haddick, Hake, the Thornback, and the Scate,
Whose slimy outside makes him seld' in date;
The stately Bass, old Neptune's fleeting post,
That tides it out and in from sea to coast;
Consorting Herrings, and the bony Shad,
Big-bellied Alewives, Mackrels richly clad
With rainbow colour, the Frostfish and the Smelt,
As good as ever Lady Gustus felt;
The spotted Lamprons, Eels, the Lamperies,
That seek fresh water brooks with Argus eyes;

These

not been thought derogatory to the dignity of a British parliament, would it be to our legislature? A law something like the Deer act might prevent the unnatural destruction of these creatures.

These watery villagers, with thousands more,
Do pass and repass near the verdant shore.

Kinds of Shell-Fish.

The luscious Lobster, with the Crabfish raw,
The brinish Oyster, Muscle, Perriwig,
And Tortoise sought by the Indian's Squaw,
Which to the flats dance many a winter's jig,
To dive for Cockles, and to dig for Clams,
Whereby her lazy husband's guts she crams.

To omit such of these as are not useful, therefore not to be spoken of, and only to certify you of such as be useful. First the Seal, which is that which is called the Sea-Calf, his skin is good for divers uses, his body being between fish and flesh, is not very delectable to the palate, or congruent with the stomach; his oil is very good to burn in lamps, of which he affords a great deal. The Shark is a kind of fish as big as a man, some as big as a horse, with three rows of teeth within his mouth, with which he snaps asunder the fisherman's lines, if he be not very circumspect: This fish will leap at a man's hand if it be over board, and with his teeth snap off a man's leg or hand if he be swimming: These are often taken, being good for nothing but to put on the ground for manuring of land. The Sturgeons be all over the country, but the best catching of them is upon the shoals of Cape-Cod, and in the river of Merrimack, where much is taken, pickled and brought to England; some of these be 12, 14, and 18 feet long: I set not down the price of fish there, because it is so cheap, so that one may have as much for two pence, as would give him an angel in England. The Salmon is as good as it is in England, and in great plenty in some places. The Hollibut is not much unlike a Plaice or Turbut, some being two yards long, and one wide, and a foot thick; the plenty of better fish makes these of little esteem,

except

except the head and fins, which ſtewed or baked is very good: Theſe Hollibut be little ſet by while Baſs is in ſeaſon. The Thornback and Scates are given to the dogs, being not counted worth the dreſſing in many places. The Baſs is one of the beſt fiſh in the country, and though men are ſoon wearied with other fiſh, yet are they never with Baſs; it is a delicate, fine, fat fiſh, having a bone in his head, which contains a ſawcer-full of marrow, ſweet and good, pleaſant to the palate and wholeſome to the ſtomach. When there be great ſtore of them, we only eat the heads and ſalt up the bodies for winter, which exceeds Ling or Harberdine. Of theſe fiſhes ſome be three and ſome four foot long, ſome bigger, ſome leſſer; at ſome tides a man may catch a dozen or twenty of theſe in three hours; the way to catch them is hook and line; the fiſherman taking a great cod-line, with which he faſteneth a piece of lobſter, and throws it into the ſea, the fiſh biting at it he pulls her to him, and knocks her on the head with a ſtick. Theſe are at one time of the year (when alewives paſs up the rivers) to be catched in rivers, in lobſter time at the rocks, in mackrel time in the bays, at michaelmas in the ſeas. When they uſe to tide it in and out to the rivers and creeks, the Engliſh at the top of an high water do croſs the creeks with long ſeines or Baſs nets, which ſtop the fiſh, and the water ebbing from them they are left on the dry ground, ſometimes two or three thouſand at a ſet, which are ſalted up againſt winter, or diſtributed to ſuch as have preſent occaſion either to ſpend them in their houſes, or uſe them for their ground. The Herrings be much like them that be caught on the Engliſh coaſts. Alewives be a kind of fiſh which is much like a Herring, which in the latter end of April come up to the freſh rivers to ſpawn, in ſuch multitudes as is almoſt incredible, preſſing up in ſuch ſhallow waters

waters as will scarce permit them to swim, having likewise such longing desire after the fresh water ponds, that no beatings with poles, or forcive agitations by other devices, will cause them to return to the sea, till they have cast their spawn. The Shads be bigger than the English Shads and fatter. The Mackrels be of two sorts, in the beginning of the year are great ones, which be upon the coast; some are 18 inches long. In summer, as in May, June, July and August, come in a smaller kind of them: These Mackrels are taken with drails, which is a long small line, with a lead and a hook at the end of it, being baited with a piece of red cloth: This kind of fish is counted a lean fish in England, but there it is so fat, that it can scarce be saved against winter without reisting. There be great store of salt water Eels, especially in such places where grass grows; to take these there be certain Eel-pots made of oziers, which must be baited with a piece of lobster, into which the Eels entering cannot return back again; some take a bushel in a night in this manner, eating as many as they have need of for the present, and salt up the rest against winter. These Eels be not of so luscious a taste as they be in England, neither are they so aguish, but are both wholesome for the body, and delightful for the taste. Lamprons and Lampries be not much set by. Lobsters be in plenty in most places, very large ones, some being twenty pounds in weight; these are taken at a low water amongst the rocks; they are very good fish, and small ones be the best; their plenty makes them little esteemed and seldom eaten. The Indians get many of them every day, and eat them when they can get no Bass. The Oysters be great ones, in form of a shoe-horn, some be a foot long; these breed on certain banks that are bare every spring tide. This fish without the shell is so big, that it must admit of a division

before

before you can well get it into your mouth. The Perriwig is a kind of fiſh that lieth in the ooze like a head of hair, which being touched conveys itſelf, leaving nothing to be ſeen but a ſmall round hole. Muſcles be in great plenty, left only for the hogs; which if they were in England would be more eſteemed of the poorer ſort. Clams or Clamps is a ſhell-fiſh not much unlike a cockle, it lieth under the ſand, every ſix or ſeven of them having a round hole to take air and receive water at. When the tide ebbs and flows, a man running over theſe clam banks will preſently be made all wet, by their ſpouting of water out of theſe ſmall holes: Theſe fiſhes be in great plenty in moſt places of the country, which is a great commodity for the feeding of ſwine, both in winter and ſummer; for being once uſed to thoſe places, they will repair to them as duly every ebb as if they were driven to them by keepers. In ſome places of the country there be Clams as big as a penny white loaf, which are great dainties amongſt the natives, and would be in good eſteem amongſt the Engliſh, were it not for better fiſh.

CHAP. X.

Of the ſeveral Plantations in particular.

HAVING deſcribed the ſituation of the country in general, with his commodities ariſing from land and ſea, it may add to your content and ſatisfaction to be informed of the ſituation of every ſeveral plantation, with his conveniencies, commodities, and diſcommodities, &c. where firſt I will begin with the outmoſt plantation in the patent to the ſouthward, which is called Wichaguſcuſſet,* an Indian name: This is but a

* Weymouth.

small village, yet is well timbered, and hath good store of hay ground: It hath a very spacious harbour for shipping before the town; the salt water being navigable for boats and pinnaces two leagues. Here the inhabitants have good store of fish of all sorts, and swine, having acorns and clams at the time of year; here is likewise an alewife river. Three miles to the north of this is Mount Wollestон,* a very fertile soil, and a place very convenient for farmers houses, there being great store of plain ground, without trees. Near this place is Massachusetts fields, where the greatest Sagamore in the country lived, before the plague, who caused it to be cleared for himself. The greatest inconvenience is, that there is not very many springs, as in other places of the country, yet water may be had for digging: A second inconvenience is, that boats cannot come in at low water, nor ships ride near the shore. Six mile further to the north, lieth Dorchester; which is the greatest town in New-England, (but I am informed that others equal it since I came away) well wooded and watered; very good arable grounds, and hay-ground, fair corn-fields, and pleasant gardens, with kitchen gardens: In this plantation is a great many cattle, as kine, goats, and swine. This plantation hath a reasonable harbour for ships. Here is no alewife river, which is a great inconvenience. The inhabitants of this town were the first that set upon the trade of fishing in the bay, who received so much fruit of their labours, that they encouraged others to the same undertakings. A mile from this town lieth Roxbury, which is a fair and handsome country town; the inhabitants of it being all very rich. This town lieth upon the main, so that it is well wooded and

* Now part of Brantree, and was then improved as pasturage and farms by the inhabitants of Boston. There was a Meeting house here, to which resorted the sectaries of New-England.

and watered; having a clear and fresh brook running through the town; up which although there come no alewives, yet there is great store of smelts, and therefore it is called Smelt-brook.

A quarter of a mile to the north side of the town, is another small river called Stony-river; upon which is built a water-mill. Here is good ground for corn, and meadow for cattle: Up westward from the town it is something rocky, whence it hath the name of Roxbury. The inhabitants have fair houses, store of cattle, impaled cornfields, and fruitful gardens. Here is no harbour for ships, because the town is seated in the bottom of a shallow bay, which is made by the neck of land on which Boston is built; so that they can transport all their goods from the ships in boats from Boston, which is the nearest harbour.

Boston is two miles north-east from Roxbury: His situation is very pleasant, being a peninsula, hem'd on the south side with the bay of Roxbury, on the north side with Charles river, the marshes on the back side being not half a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the wolves. The greatest wants are wood and meadow ground, which never were in this place; being constrained to fetch their building timber and firewood from the islands in boats, and their hay in loyters: It being a neck, and a bare wood, they are not troubled with three great annoyances, of Wolves, Rattle-snakes, and Musketoes. These that live here upon their cattle, must be constrained to take farms in the country, or else they cannot subsist, the place being too small to contain many, and fittest for such as can trade into England, for such commodities as the country wants, being the chief place for shipping and merchandize.

This neck of land is not above four miles in compass, in form almost square, having on the south side

at one corner, a great broad hill, whereon is planted a fort, which can command any ship as she sails into any harbour within the still bay. On the north side is another hill * equal in bigness, whereon stands a windmill. To the northwest is an high mountain with three little rising hills on the top of it, wherefore it is called the Tramount. From the top of this mountain a man may overlook all the islands which lie within the bay, and descry such ships as are upon the sea-coast. This town, although it be neither the greatest nor the richest, yet is the most noted and frequented, being the center of the plantations, where the monthly courts were kept. This town is greater and richer since I came away, and the courts are held at Newtown. Here likewise dwells the Governour. This place hath very good land, affording rich cornfields, and fruitful gardens; having likewise sweet and pleasant springs. The inhabitants of this place, for their enlargement, have taken to themselves farmhouses, in a place called Muddy-river, two miles from their town; where is good ground, large timber, and store of marsh-land and meadow. In this place they keep their swine, and other cattle in the summer, whilst the corn is on the ground at Boston, and bring them to town in the winter.

On the north side of Charles-river is Charlestown; which is another neck of land, on whose north side runs Mistick river. This town for all things may be well parallelled with her neighbour Boston, being in the same fashion, with her bare neck, and constrained to borrow conveniencies from the main, and to provide for themselves farms in the country, for their better subsistence. At this town there is kept a ferry-boat, to convey passengers over Charles river, which between the

* Cope's-Hill, belonging formerly to one of that name, and the windmill was standing in the memory of some antient people now living 1764.

the two towns is a quarter of a mile over, being a very deep channel. Here may ride forty ſhips at a time. Up higher it is a broad bay, being above two miles between the ſhores, into which run Stony-river and Muddy-river. Towards the ſouthweſt in the midſt of this bay, is a great oyſter bank. Towards the northweſt of this bay is a great creek, upon whoſe ſhore is ſituated the village of Medford, ‡ a very fertile and pleaſant place, and fit for more inhabitants than are yet in it. This town is a mile and a half from Charleſtown, and at the bottom of this bay the river begins to be narrower, being but half a quarter of a mile broad. By the ſide of this river is built Newtown,* which is three miles by land from Charleſtown, and a league and a half by water; this place was firſt intended for a city, but upon more ſerious conſiderations it was thought not ſo fit, being too far from the ſea; being the greateſt inconvenience it hath. This is one of the neateſt and beſt compacted towns in New-England, having many fair ſtructures, with many handſome contrived ſtreets; the inhabitants moſt of them are very rich, and well ſtored with cattle of all ſorts; having many hundred acres of land paled in with general fence, which is about a mile and a half long, which ſecures all their weaker cattle from the wild beaſts. On the other ſide of the river lieth all their meadow and marſh ground for hay.

Half a mile weſtward of this plantation is Watertown; a place nothing inferior for land, wood, meadow and water, to Newtown. Within half a mile of this town is a great pond, which is divided between thoſe two towns, which divides their bounds northward. A mile and a half from this town is a fall of freſh waters, which convey themſelves into the ocean through Charles

‡ Miſtick, mentioned a little below, hath adopted this name, while this Village is ſwallowed up in the townſhip of Charleſtown.

* Since 1638, Cambridge.

Charles river. A little below this fall of waters, the inhabitants of Watertown have built a ware to catch fiſh, wherein they take great ſtore of ſhads and alewives. In two tides they have gotten an hundred thouſand of thoſe fiſhes: This is no ſmall benefit to the plantation. Ships of ſmall burthen may come up to theſe towns, but the oyſter banks do bar out the bigger ſhips.

THE next town is Miſtick, which is three miles from Charleſtown by land, and a league and a half by water. It is ſeated by the water ſide very pleaſantly; there are not many houſes as yet. At the head of this river are great and ſpacious ponds, whither the alewives preſs to ſpawn. This being a noted place for that kind of fiſh, the Engliſh reſort thither to take them. On the weſt ſide of this river the Governor hath a farm, where he keeps moſt of his cattle. On the eaſt ſide is Mr. Cradock's * plantation, where he hath impaled a park, where he keeps his cattle, till he can ſtore it with deer: Here likewiſe he is at charges of building ſhips. The laſt year one was upon the ſtocks of an hundred tons; that being finiſhed they are to build one twice her burden. Ships without either ballaſt or loading may float down this river; otherwiſe the oyſter bank would hinder them, which croſſeth the channel.

THE laſt town in the ſtill bay, is Winniſimet, a very ſweet place for ſituation, and ſtands very commodiouſly, being fit to entertain more planters than are yet ſeated. It is within a mile of Charleſtown, the river only parting them. The chief iſlands which keep out the wind and ſea from diſturbing the harbours, are firſt Deer Iſland, which lies within a flight-ſhot of Pullin-point. This iſland is ſo called, becauſe of the Deer which

* This Gentleman was choſen Governor of the Colony, but never came over; he was anceſtor to the preſent George Cradock, Eſq; of this Town.

which often ſwim thither from the main, when they are chaſed by the Wolves. Some have killed ſixteen Deer in a day upon this iſland. The oppoſite ſhore is called Pullin-point, becauſe that is the uſual channel boats uſe to paſs through into the bay; and the tide being very ſtrong, they are conſtrained to go aſhore, and hale their boats by the ſeaſing, or roads, whereupon it was called Pullin-point.

THE next iſland of note is Long-Iſland, ſo called from his longitude. Divers other iſlands are within theſe, viz. Nodle's Iſle, Round Iſle, the Governour's Garden, where is planted an orchard and a vineyard, with many other conveniencies; and Slate Iſland, Glaſs Iſland, Bird Iſland,† &c. Thoſe iſlands abound with woods, and water, and meadow ground; and whatſoever the ſpacious fertile main affords. The inhabitants uſe to put their cattle in theſe for ſafety, viz. their Rams, Goats, and Swine, when their corn is on the ground. Theſe towns that lie without the bay, are a great deal nearer the main, and reap a greater benefit from the ſea, in regard of the plenty both of fiſh and fowl, which they receive from thence; ſo that they live more comfortably, and at leſs charges, than thoſe that are more remote from the ſea in the iſland plantations.

THE next plantation is Saugus,‡ ſix miles northeaſt from Winneſimet: This town is pleaſant for ſituation, ſeated at the bottom of a bay, which is made on one ſide with the ſurrounding ſhore, and on the other ſide with a long ſandy beach; which is two miles long at the end, whereon is a neck of land called Nahant; it is ſix miles in circumference; well wooded with oaks, pines, and cedars: It is beſides well watered, having beſides the freſh ſprings, a great pond in the middle, before which is a ſpacious marſh. In this neck is ſtore

† This and ſeveral other iſlands are now waſhed away, and nothing remains but a gravelly bank at low water.

‡ Lynn.

ſtore of good ground, fit for the plough; but for the preſent it is only uſed to put young cattle in, and weather goats, and ſwine, to ſecure them from the wolves; a few poſts and rails from the lower water-marks to the ſhore, keeps out the wolves, and keeps in the cattle. One Black William, an Indian Duke, out of his generoſity gave this place in general to the plantation of Saugus, ſo that no other can appropriate it to himſelf.

Upon the ſouth ſide of the ſandy beach the ſea beateth, which is a true prognoſtication, to preſage ſtorms and foul weather, and the breaking up of the froſt: For when a ſtorm hath been, or is likely to be, it will roar like thunder, being heard ſix miles; and after ſtorms caſts up great ſtore of great clams, which the Indians taking out of their ſhells, carry out in baſkets. On the north ſide of this bay are two great marſhes, § which are made two by a pleaſant river which runs between them. Northward up this river, goes great ſtore of alewives, of which they make good red herrings; inſomuch that they have been at charges to make a ware, and a herring-houſe to dry theſe herrings in; the laſt year were dried ſome four or five laſt for an experiment, which proved very good to appearance; if they prove as well in a foreign market, this is like to prove a great enrichment to the land (being a ſtaple commodity in other countries) for there be ſuch innumerable companies in every river, that I have ſeen ten thouſand taken in two hours by two men, without any ware at all, ſaving a few ſtones to ſtop their paſſage up the river. There likewiſe come ſtore of baſs, which the Engliſh and Indians catch with hook and line, ſome fifty or threeſcore at a tide. At the mouth of this river runs up a great creek into that great marſh, which is called Romney-Marſh, which is four miles long, and two miles broad; half

§ Romney-Marſh.

half of it being marſh ground, and half upland graſs, without tree or buſh: This marſh is croſſed with divers creeks, wherein lie great ſtore of geeſe and ducks. There are convenient ponds for planting of duckcoves. Here are likewiſe belonging to this place divers freſh meadows, which afford good graſs, and four ſpacious ponds like little lakes, wherein is ſtore of freſh fiſh, within a mile of the town, out of which runs a curious freſh brook that is ſeldom frozen, by reaſon of the warmneſs of the water: Upon this ſtream is built a water-mill, and up this river come ſmelts and froſt fiſh much bigger than a gudgeon. For wood there is no want; there being ſtore of good oaks, wall-nut, cedar, aſp, and elm. The ground is good, in many places without trees, fit for plough. In this plantation there is more Engliſh tillage, than in New-England and Virginia beſides; which proved as well as could be expected, the corn being very good, eſpecially the barley, rye, and oats.

THE land affordeth the inhabitants as many rarities as any place elſe, and the ſea more; the baſs continuing from the middle of April to Michaelmas, which ſtays not above half that time in the bay: Beſides here is a great deal of rock-cod and mackrel, inſomuch that ſhoals of baſs have driven up ſhoals of mackrel from one end of the ſandy beach to the other; which the inhabitants have gathered up in wheel-barrows. The bay that lieth before the town at a low ſpring tide will be all flats for two miles together, upon which is great ſtore of muſcle-banks, and clam banks, and lobſters amongſt the rocks and graſſy holes. Theſe flats make it unnavigable for ſhips, yet at high water great boats, loyters and pinnaces of twenty and thirty tons, may ſail up to the plantation, but they need have a ſkilful pilot, becauſe of many dangerous rocks and foaming breakers that lie at the mouth of that bay. The very aſpect of the place is fortification enough

to keep off an unknown enemy, yet it may be fortified at a little charge, being but few landing places thereabout, and those obscure. Four miles northeast from Saugus lieth Salem, which stands on the middle of a neck of land very pleasantly, having a south river on the one side, and a north river on the other side; upon this neck where most of the houses stand is very bad and sandy ground, yet for seven years together it hath brought forth exceeding good corn, with being fished but every third year; in some places is very good ground, and good timber, and divers springs hard by the sea side. Here likewise is store of fish, as Basses, Eels, Lobsters, Clams, &c. Although their land is none of the best, yet beyond these rivers is a very good soil, where they have taken farms, and get their hay, and plant their corn; there they cross these rivers with small canoes, which are made of whole pine trees, being about two feet and an half over, and twenty feet long; in these they likewise go a fowling, sometimes two leagues to sea; there be more canoes in this town, than in all the whole patent; every household having a water horse or two. This town wants an Alewife river, which is a great inconvenience; it hath two good harbours, the one being called winter, the other summer harbours, which lyeth within Derbin's fort, which place if it were well fortified, might keep ships from landing of forces in any of those two places. Marblehead is a place which lyeth four miles full south from Salem, and is a very convenient place for plantation, especially for such as will set upon the trade of fishing. There was made here a ship's loading of fish the last year, where still stand the stages and drying scaffolds; here is good harbour for boats, and safe riding for ships. Agowamme* is nine miles to the north from

* Ipswich. The late ingenious Mr. Ward of Ipswich hath immortalized this Indian name, by that facetious history of his, The Simple Cobler of Agowamme.

from Salem, which is one of the moſt ſpacious places for a plantation, being near the ſea; it aboundeth with fiſh, and fleſh of fowls and beaſts, great meads and marſhes, and plain plowing grounds, many good rivers and harbours, and no rattle-ſnakes. In a word, it is the beſt place but one, in my judgment, which is Merrimack, lying eight miles beyond it, where is a river twenty leagues navigable; all along the river ſide is freſh marſhes, in ſome places three miles broad. In this river is Sturgeon, Salmon and Baſs, and divers other kinds of fiſh. To conclude, the country ſcarce affordeth that which this place cannot yield. So that theſe two places may contain twice as many people as are yet in New-England; there being as yet ſcarce any inhabitants in theſe two ſpacious places. Three miles beyond the river of Merrimack is the outſide of our patent for the Maſſachuſetts-Bay. Theſe are all the towns that were begun, when I came for England, which was the 15th of Auguſt, 1633. *

CHAP. XI.

Of the Evils, and ſuch Things as are hurtful in the Plantation.

I Have informed you of the country in general, and of every plantation in particular, with their commodities, and wherein one excelleth another. Now that I may be every way faithful to my reader in this work,

* This chapter, being the moſt intereſting, was a great inducement to the reprinting our author. The out-lines of the picture are here ſketched; time, induſtry, and the gradual improvement of a new country, have ſince delineated many traits; and every man, every generous heart, glowing with patriotic warmth, will aſſiſt in the finiſhing, will rejoice to ſee every feature diſplayed, and the laſt touches given.

work, I will as fully and truly relate to you what is evil, and of most annoyance to the inhabitants. First, those which bring most prejudice to their estates are the ravenous Wolves, which destroy the weaker cattle, but of these you have heard before: That which is most injurious to the person and life of man is a Rattle Snake, which is generally a yard and an half long, as thick in the middle as the small of a man's leg, she hath a yellow belly, her back being spotted with black, russet, yellow, and green colours, placed like scales; at her tail is a rattle, with which she makes a noise when she is molested, or when she sees any approach near her; her neck seems to be no thicker than a man's thumb, yet can she swallow a Squirrel, having a great wide mouth, with teeth as sharp as needles, wherewith she biteth such as tread upon her; her poison lieth in her teeth, for she hath nosting. When any man is bitten by any of these creatures, the poison spreads so suddenly through the veins, and so runs to the heart, that in one hour it causeth death, unless he hath the antidote to expel the poison, which is a root called Snake weed, which must be champed, the spittle swallowed, and the root applied to the sore; this is present cure against that which would be present death without it; this weed is rank poison, if it be taken by any man that is not bitten, unless it be physically compounded; whoever is bitten by these Snakes his flesh becomes as spotted as a leper until he be perfectly cured.* It is reported that if the party live that is bitten, the Snake will die; and if the party die, the Snake will live. This is a most poisonous and dangerous creature, yet nothing so bad as the report goes of him in England. For whereas he is said to kill a man with his breath, and

* A man mowing near Newbury was by a Rattle Snake bit in the calf of his leg, such was his presence of mind that he instantly cut the calf off, which preventing the infection of his blood, saved his life.

and that he can fly; but there is no ſuch matter, for he is naturally the moſt ſleepy and unnimble creature that lives, never offering to leap or bite any man, if he be not troden on firſt, and it is their deſire in hot weather to lie in paths, where the ſun may ſhine on them, where they will ſleep ſo ſoundly, that I have known four men ſtride over them, and never awake her; five or ſix men have been bitten by them, which by uſing of Snake weed were all cured, never any yet loſing his life by them. Cows have been bitten, but being cut in divers places, and this weed thruſt into their fleſh, were cured. I never heard of any beaſt that was yet loſt by any of them, ſaving one Mare. A ſmall ſwitch will eaſily kill one of theſe Snakes. In many places of the country there be none of them, as at Plimouth, Newtown, Agowamme, Nahant, &c. In ſome places they will live on one ſide of the river, and ſwimming but over the water, as ſoon as they be come into the woods, they turn up their yellow bellies and die. Up into the country weſtward from the plantations is a high hill, which is called Rattle Snake hill, where there is great ſtore of theſe poiſonous creatures. There be divers other kind of Snakes, one whereof is a great long black Snake, two yards in length, which will glide through the woods very ſwiftly; theſe never do any hurt, neither doth any other kind of Snakes moleſt either man or beaſt. Theſe creatures in the winter time creep into clifts of rocks, and into holes under ground, where they lie cloſe till May or June. Here likewiſe be great ſtore of Frogs, which in the ſpring do chirp and whiſtle like a bird, and at the latter end of ſummer croak like our Engliſh Frogs. Here be alſo Toads which will climb the tops of high trees, where they will ſet croaking to the wonderment of ſuch as are not acquainted with them. I never ſaw any Fleſhwormes or Moles, but Piſmires and Spiders be there. There are likewiſe troubleſome Flies.

Firſt,

Firſt, there is a wild Bee or Waſp, which commonly guards the grape, building her cobweb habitation amongſt the leaves; ſecondly, a great green Fly, not much unlike our Horſe Flies in England; they will nip ſo ſore that they will fetch blood either of man or beaſt, and be moſt troubleſome where moſt cattle be, which brings them from out of the woods to the houſes; this Fly continues but for the month of June. The third is a Gurnipper, which is a ſmall black Fly no bigger than a Flea; her biting cauſeth an itching upon the hands and face, which provoketh ſcratching which is troubleſome to ſome; this Fly is buſy but in cloſe mornings or evenings, and continues not above three weeks, the leaſt wind or heat expels them. The fourth is a Muſketo, which is not unlike our Gnats in England: In places where there is no thick woods or ſwamps, there is none, or very few. In new plantations they are troubleſome for the firſt year, but the wood decaying they vaniſh: Theſe flies cannot endure wind, heat or cold, ſo that theſe are only troubleſome in cloſe thick weather, and againſt rain; many that are bitten will fall a ſcratching, whereupon their faces and hands ſwell: Others are never troubled with them at all; thoſe likewiſe that ſwell with their biting the firſt year, never ſwell the ſecond: For my own part, I have been troubled as much with them, or ſome like them, in the fen country of England, as ever I was there. Here are the flies that are called Cantharides,* ſo much eſteemed of chirurgeons, with divers kinds of butterflies. Thus have you heard of the worſt of the country: But ſome peradventure will ſay no; and reply, that they have heard that the people have been driven to great wants and extremities. To which I anſwer, it is true that ſome have lived for a certain time with a little bread, others without

* There is no ſuch inſect at this time, though there is a fly ſomewhat reſembling them in their gloſſy hue.

out any, yet all this argues nothing againſt the country in itſelf, but condemneth the folly and improvidence of ſuch as would venture into ſo rude and unmanaged a country, without ſo much proviſions as ſhould have comfortably maintained them in health and ſtrength, till by their labours they had brought the land to yield his fruit.† I have myſelf heard ſome ſay that they had heard it was a rich land, a brave country, but when they came there they could ſee nothing but a few canvaſs booths and old houſes, ſuppoſing at the firſt to have found walled towns, fortifications and corn-fields; as if towns could have built themſelves, or cornfields have grown of themſelves, without the huſbandry of man. Theſe men miſſing of their expectations, returned home, and railed upon the conntry. Others may object, that of late time there hath been great want; I deny it not, but look to the original, and tell me from whence it came. The root of their want ſprung up in England; for many hundreds hearing of the plenty of the country, were ſo much their own foes, and the countries hinderance, as to come without proviſion; which made things both dear and ſcant: Wherefore let none blame the country ſo much as condemn the indiſcreetneſs of ſuch as will needs run themſelves upon hardſhip. And I dare further aſſure any that will carry proviſion enough for a year and a half, ſhall not need to fear want, if he or his agents be induſtrious to manage his eſtate and affairs. And whereas many do diſparage the land, ſaying a man cannot live without labour; in that they more diſparage and diſcredit themſelves, in giving the world

† Capt. Smith ſays, that in 1609 the famine was ſo ſevere in Virginia, that a man killed his wife, powdered her, and eat part before it was known. "Now whether ſhe was better "roaſted, boiled, or carbonaded, I know not; but of ſuch "a diſh as powdered wife, I never heard."

Smith's Hiſt. Virg.

world occasion to take notice of their droanish disposition, that would live of the sweat of another man's brows. Surely they were much deceived, or else ill-informed, that ventured thither in hopes to live in plenty and idleness, both at a time; and it is as much pity that he that can work and will not, should eat, as it is pity that he that would work and cannot, should fast. I condemn not such therefore as are now there, and are not able to work; but I advise for the future those men that are of weaker constitutions to keep at home, if their estates cannot maintain servants. For all New-England must be workers in some kind: And whereas it hath been formerly reported that boys of ten or twelve years of age might do much more than get their living; that cannot be; for he must have more than a boy's head, and no less than a man's strength, that intends to live comfortably: And he that hath understanding and industry, with a stock of 100 pounds, shall live better there, than he shall do here of 20 pounds per annum. But many will say, if it be thus, how comes it to pass then that they are so poor? I answer, that they are poor but in comparison; compare them with the rich merchants, or great landed men in England, and then I know they will seem poor. There is no probability they should be exceeding rich, because none of such great estate went over yet; besides, a man of estate must first scatter before he gathers; he must lay out monies for transporting of servants, and cattle and goods, for houses and fences, and gardens, &c. This may make his purse seem light, and to the eye of others, seem a leaking in his estate, whereas these disbursements are for his future enrichment: For he being once well seated, and quietly settled, his increase comes in double; and howsoever they are accounted poor, they are well contented, and look not so much at abundance, as a competency; so little

little is the poverty of the country, that I am perſuaded if many in England, who are conſtrained to beg their bread, were there, they might live better than many do here, that have money to buy it. Furthermore, when corn is ſcarce, yet may they have either fiſh or fleſh for their labour; and ſurely that place is not miſerably poor to them that are there, where four eggs may be had for a penny, and a quart of new milk at the ſame rate; where butter is ſix pence a pound, and Cheſhire cheeſe at five pence: Sure Middleſex affords London no better pennyworths. What tho' there be no ſuch plenty, as to cry theſe things in the ſtreets; yet every day affords theſe pennyworths to thoſe that need them in moſt places: I dare not ſay in all. Can they be very poor, where for four thouſand ſouls there are fifteen hundred head of cattle, beſides goats, and ſwine innumerable. In an ill ſheep year I have known mutton as dear in Old England, and dearer than goat's fleſh is in New-England, which is altogether as good, if fancy be ſet aſide.

CHAP. XII.

What Proviſion is made for a Journey at Sea, and what to carry with us for our uſe at Land.

MANY peradventure at the looking over of theſe relations, may have inclinations or reſolutions for the voyage; to whom I wiſh all proſperity in their undertakings; although I will uſe no forcive arguments to perſuade any, but leave them to the relation; yet by way of advice, I would commend to them a few lines from the pen of experience. And becauſe the way to New-England is over ſea, it will

not be amiss to give you directions what is necessary to be carried. Many I suppose, know as well, or better than myself; yet all do not; to those my directions tend. Although every man have ship-provisions allowed him for his five pounds a man, which is salt beef, pork, salt fish, butter, cheese, pease pottage, water grewel, and such kind of victuals, with good biskets, and six shilling beer; yet it will be necessary to carry some comfortable refreshing of fresh victuals. As first, for such as have ability, some conserves, and good claret wine to burn at sea; or you may have it by some of your vintners or wine-coopers burned here, and put up into vessels, which will keep much better than other burnt wine; it is a very comfortable thing for the stomach, or such as are sea-sick; sallad-oil likewise, prunes are good to be stewed, sugar for many things; white biskets, eggs, and bacon, rice, poultry, and some weather sheep to kill aboard the ship, and fine flour baked meats will keep about a week or nine days at sea. Juice of lemons, well put up, is good either to prevent or cure the scurvy. Here it must not be forgotten to carry small skillets, or pipkins, and small frying-pans, to dress their victuals in at sea. For bedding, so it be easy, and cleanly, and warm, it is no matter how old or coarse it be for the use of the sea; and so likewise for apparel, the oldest cloaths be the fittest, with a long coarse coat, to keep better things from the pitched ropes and planks. Whosoever shall put to sea in a stout and well-conditioned ship, having an honest master, and loving seamen, shall not need to fear but he shall find as good content at sea as at land.

It is too common with many to fear the sea more than they need, and all such as put to sea, confess it to be less tedious than they either feared or expected. A ship at sea may well be compared to a cradle, rocked

ed by a careful mother's hand, which though it be moved up and down, yet is not in danger of falling: So a ship may be often rocked to and again upon the troublesome sea, yet seldom doth it sink or overturn; because it is kept by that careful hand of providence by which it is rocked. It was never known yet, that any ship in that voyage was cast away, or that ever fell into the enemy's hand.

For the health of the passengers, it hath been observed, that of five hundred souls, not above three or four have died at sea. It is probable in such a company, more might have died either by sickness or casualties, if they had staid at home. For women, I see not but that they do as well as men; and young children as well as either; having their healths as well at sea as land. Many likewise which have come with such foul bodies to sea, as did make their days uncomfortable at land, have been so purged and clarified at sea, that they have been more healthful for after times; their weak appetites being turned to good stomachs, not only desiring, but likewise digesting such victuals as the sea affords. Secondly, for directions for the country, it is not to be feared but that men of good estates may do well there; always provided, that they go well accommodated with servants; in which I would not wish them to take over-many; ten or twelve lusty servants being able to manage an estate of two or three thousand pounds. It is not the multiplicity of many bad servants (which presently eats a man out of house and harbour, as lamentable experience hath made manifest) but the industry of the faithful and diligent labourer, that enricheth the careful master: So that he that hath many droniſh servants, shall soon be poor; and he that hath an industrious family, shall soon be rich.

Now for the encouragement of his men, he must not do as many have done (more through ignorance than desire) carry many mouths and no meat; but rather much meat for a few mouths. Want of due maintenance produceth nothing but a grumbling spirit with a sluggish idleness; when as those servants which be well provided for, go through their employments with speed and chearfulness. For meal, it will be requisite to carry a hogshead and an half for every one that is a labourer, to keep him till he may receive the fruit of his own labours, which will be a year and a half after his arrival, if he land in May or June. He must likewise carry malt, beef, butter, cheese, some pease, good wines, vinegar, strong-waters, &c. Whosoever transports more of these than he himself useth, the overplus being sold, will yield as much profit as any other staple commodity. Every man likewise must carry over good store of apparel; for if he come to buy there, he will find it dearer than in England. Woollen cloth is a very good commodity, and linen better; as holland, lockram, flaxen, hempen, callico stuffs, linsey woolsies, and blue callico, green sayes for housewife's aprons, hats, boots, shoes, good Irish stockings, which if they be good, are much more serviceable than knit ones; all kind of grocery wares, as sugar, prunes, raisins, currants, honey, nutmegs, cloves, &c. soap, candles, and lamps, &c. All manner of houshold stuff is very good trade there, as pewter and brass, for the use of that country; warming-pans and stewing pans be of necessay use, and good traffick there. All manner of iron wares, as all manner of nails for houses, and all manner of spikes for building of boats, ships, and fishing stages; all manner of tools for workmen, hoes for planters, broad and narrow for setting and weeding; with axes, both broad and pitching axes. All manner of augers, piercing bits, whip-saws, two handed

handed ſaws, froes, both for the riving of pailes and laths, rings for beetle heads, and iron wedges; though all theſe be made in the country (there being divers blackſmiths) yet being a heavy commodity, and taking but a little ſtorage, it is cheaper to carry ſuch commodities out of England. Glaſs ought not to be forgotten of any that deſire to benefit themſelves, or the country; if it be well leaded, and carefully packed up, I know no commodity better for portage or ſale. Here likewiſe muſt not be forgotten all utenſils for the ſea, as barbels, ſplitting-knives, leads, and cod-hooks, and lines, mackrel hooks and lines, ſhark-hooks, ſeines, or baſs-nets, large and ſtrong, herring nets, &c. Such as would eat fowl, muſt not forget their ſix foot guns, their good powder, and ſhot of all ſorts; a great round ſhot called Barnſtable ſhot, is the beſt; being made of a blacker lead than ordinary ſhot. Furthermore, good pooldavies to make ſails for boots, roads, anchors for boats and pinnaces, are good; ſea-coal, iron, lead, and mill-ſtones, flints, ordnances, and whatſoever a man can conceive is good for the country, that will lie as ballaſt, he cannot be a loſer by it. And leſt I ſhould forget a thing of ſo great importance, no man muſt neglect to provide himſelf, or thoſe belonging to him, his ammunition, for the defence of himſelf and the country. For there is no man there that bears a head, but that bears military arms; even boys of fourteen years of age are practiſed with men in military diſcipline, every three weeks. Whoſoever ſhall carry over drums and Engliſh colours, patteſons, halberds, pikes, muſkets, bandeleroes, with ſwords, ſhall not need to fear good gain for them; ſuch things being wanting in the country. Likewiſe whatſoever ſhall be needful for fortifications of holds and caſtles, whereby the common enemy may be kept out in future times, is much deſired. They as yet have had no great cauſe to fear;

but

but because security hath been the overthrow of many a new plantation, it is their care, according to their abilities, to secure themselves by fortifications, as well as they can. Thus having shewed what commodities are most useful, it will not be amiss to shew you what men are most fit for these plantations.

First, Men of good working and contriving heads, a well experienced commonwealth's man, for the good of the body politic in matters of advice and counsel, a well skilled and industrious husbandman, for tillage and improvement of grounds; an ingenious carpenter, a cunning joiner, a handy cooper, such a one as can make strong ware for the use of the country, and a good brick-maker, a tyler, and a smith, a leather dresser, a gardner, and a taylor; one that hath good skill in the trade of fishing, is of special use, and so is a good fowler. If there be any that hath skill in any of these trades, if he can transport himself, he need not fear but he may improve his time and endeavours to his own benefit and comfort; if any cannot transport himself, he may provide himself of an honest master, and so may do as well. There is as much freedom and liberty for servants as in England, and more too; a wronged servant shall have right *volens nolens* from his injurious master, and a wronged master shall have right of his injurious servant, as well as here. Wherefore let no servant be discouraged from the voyage, that intends it. And now whereas it is generally reported, that servants and poor men grow rich, and the masters and gentry grow poor; I must needs confess that the diligent hand makes rich, and that labouring men having good store of employments, and as good pay, live well, and contentedly; but I cannot perceive that those that set them a work are any way impoverished by them; peradventure they may have less money by reason of them, but never the less riches;

a man's work well done being more beneficial than his money, or other dead commodities, which otherwise would lie by him to no purpose. If any men be so improvident as to set men about building castles in the air, or other unnecessary employments, they may grow poor; but such as employ labourers about planting of corn, building of houses, fencing in ground, fishing, and divers other necessary occasions, shall receive as much or more by poor mens labours, than those that live in England do from the industry of such as they hire: Wherefore I do suppose this to be but the surmisings of some that are ignorant of the country, or else misinformed by some ill-willers to the plantations. Many objections, I know, are daily invented, to hinder the proceedings of these new plantations, which may damp the unsettled spirits of such as are not greatly affected with those undertakings. Some say the Spaniard lays claim to the whole country, being the first discoverer hereof, and that he may make invasion upon those parts as well as he hath done upon St. Christophers, and St. Martins, and those places: But doth it follow, that because he took such places as lay just in his way to the West-Indies, that he should come thousands of miles with a great navy, to plantations, as yet not worth the pillage; and when the plantations are grown noted in the eyes of the common foes for wealth, it is hoped, that when the bees have honey in their hives, they will have stings in their tails. Hath not Virginia been planted many years, which is four hundred miles nearer the Spaniards course, and yet never met with any affrontments; so that this scruple smells of fear and pusillanimity. To wipe away all groundless calumniations, and to answer to every too curious objection, and frivolous questions (some so simple as not ashamed to ask whether the sun shines there or no) were to run *in infinitum*:

But

But I hope that the ſeveral manuſcripts and letters, and informations by word of mouth from ſome of our honeſt countrymen, which daily have recourſe unto us, have given full ſatisfaction to ſuch as are well-willers to the plantations; and for ſuch as are eſtranged to it in affection, if every word that hath been either writ or ſpoken were a forcive argument, yet would it be too little to ſteady their belief in any one particular concerning the country. Some are nimble eared to hear faults, and ſo ready tongued to publiſh them, yea often times with ſtrained conſtructions; a falſe aſſeveration uſually winneth more belief than two verifying negatives can reſettle.* Some there are who count with Claudian, that it is an incomparable happineſs to have their

* The moſt generous intentions for the welfare of mankind have been defeated by narrow, party views; and the malignant breath of envy hath often counteracted ſchemes planned upon the moſt extenſive principles; ignorance and bigotry is the true ſoil for an obſtinate mind, which from a ſimilarity of ſentiment generally meets a favourable reception from the vulgar; and the warmth with which ſuch minds oppoſe, is regarded by them as the teſt of truth: For which cauſe men of the moſt liberal and impartial minds are often borne down by popular prejudice, hurried as it is by the warmth of paſſion, and not guided by the calmneſs of reaſon; it is a tax levied upon merit: Envy, the rankeſt weed of a ſelfiſh mind, is ever buſy in the exaction, and bad men take a pleaſure in torturing the moſt beneficial ſchemes and wreſting them to evil deſigns.

Theſe reflections cannot be ſpared when one meets with the relations publiſhed by the enemies of this country at its firſt ſettlement: One would imagine they had never been believed: For they repreſent the coaſts as the moſt dreary and inhoſpitable, the ſoil as the moſt barren and deficient, and the natives as cannibals the moſt ſavage; with the addition of many ill-natured ſtories, and unmanly lies. They had an effect for a time; thanks be to God it was only for a time! Their malice and falſity were ſoon expoſed, whilſt the political commotions in England diſſipated every real difficulty.

their birth, life, and burial in the ſame place: Theſe are never likely to remove further than the ſhell of their own country. But becauſe there are ſome noble ſpirits that devote their eſtates, and their perſons to the common good of their King and Country, I have therefore for their directions and delight made this relation. For as the end of my travel was obſervation, ſo I deſire the end of my obſervation may tend to the information of others. As I have obſerved what I have ſeen, and written what I have obſerved, ſo do I deſire to publiſh what I have written, deſiring it may be beneficial to poſterity; and if any man deſire to fill himſelf at the fountain, from whence this taſting cup was taken, his own experience ſhall tell him as much as I have here related. And thus I paſs from the country, as it ſtands to the Engliſh, and come to diſcourſe how it ſtands to the old Natives, and they to it, at followeth.

THE

THE SECOND PART.

Of the *Indians*, their Persons, Cloathing, Diet, Natures, Customs, Laws, Marriages, Worships, Conjurations, Wars, Games, Huntings, Fishings, Sports, Language, Death, and Burial.

CHAP. I.

Of the Connecticuts, Mohawks, or such Indians as are Westward.

THE country, as it is in relation to the Indians, is divided as it were into shires, every several division being swayed by a several king. The Indians to the east and north-east, bearing the name of Churchers, and Tarrenteens. These in the southern parts are called Pequants, and Narraganſets. Those who are seated westward are called Connecticuts, and Mohawks. Our Indians that live to the northward of them, are called Aberginians,* who before the sweeping plague, were an inhabitant not fearing, but rather scorning the confrontments of such as now count them but the scum of the country, and would soon root them out of their native possessions, were it not for the English.

THESE

* Most probably a corruption of *Aborigines*, once a proper, now a common name.

THESE are a cruel bloody people, which were wont to come down upon their poor neighbours, with more than brutish savageness, spoiling their corn, burning their houses, slaying men, ravishing women, yea very cannibals they were, sometimes eating on a man one part after another before his face, and while yet living; insomuch that the very name of a Mohawk would strike the heart of a poor Aberginian dead, were there not hopes at hand of relief from the English to succour them: For these inhuman homicides confess that they dare not meddle with a white-fac'd man, accompanied with his hot-mouth'd weapon. These Indians are a people of a tall stature, of long grim visages, slender waisted, and exceeding great arms and thighs, wherein they say their strength lieth; and this I rather believe, because an honest gentleman told me, upon his own knowledge, that he saw one of them with a fillip of his finger kill a dog, who afterwards flead him and sod him, and eat him to his dinner. They are so hardy that they can eat such things as would make other Indians sick to look upon, being destitute of fish and flesh, they suffice hunger, and maintain nature with the use of vegetatives; but that which they most hunt after is the flesh of man; their custom is, if they get a stranger near their habitations, not to butcher him immediately, but keep him in as good plight as they can, feeding him with the best victuals they have; as a near neighbouring Indian assured me, who found what he had spoke true by a lamentable experience, still wearing the cognizance of their cruelty on his naked arm; who being taken by them, eat of their food, lodged in their beds, nay he was brought forth every day to be new painted, piped unto, and hem'd in with a ring of bare skinned morrice dancers, who presented their antiques before him. In a word, when they had sported enough about

this walking maypole, a rough hewn ſatyr cutteth a gobblit of fleſh from his brawny arm, eating it in his view, fearing it with a firebrand, leſt the blood ſhould be waſted before the morn, at the dawning whereof they told him they would make an end as they had begun. He anſwered, that he cared as little for their threats as they did for his life, not fearing death; whereupon they led him bound into a wigwam, where he ſat as a condemned priſoner, grating his teeth for anger, being for the preſent ſo hamper'd, and the next day to be entombed in ſo many living ſepulchres; he extends his ſtrength to the utmoſt, breaketh the bands from his hands, and looſing the cords from his feet, thought at once to be revenged for the fleſh of his arm, and finding a hatchet, lays on with an arm of revenge to the unliving of ten men at the firſt onſet; afterwards taking opportunity of the darkneſs of the dead of the night, fled through the woods, and came to his native home, where he ſtill lives to rehearſe his happy eſcape. Of the reſt of their inhuman cruelties let the Dutchmen (who live among them) teſtify; as likewiſe the cruel manner of leading their miſerable priſoners captive, whom they do not only pinion with ſharp throngs, but likewiſe bore holes through their hamſtrings, through which they thread a cord, coupling ten or a dozen men together. †

THESE

† P. Charlevoix has a remarkable paſſage of the horrid cruelty of theſe Indians, which confirms the juſtneſs of our author's knowledge, tho' ſo early. The paſſage is too long to be tranſcribed, but may be found in Tome IIIme, Seizieme lettre. Minds unuſed to the gentle touches of humanity have a contempt for life unknown to thoſe whoſe hearts are mellowed by ſocial converſe; as the attachments of civil life are by far the moſt numerous where theſe ties and connections are wanting the deſire of life is proportionably weak; the daily hazard to which they are expoſed, and the rugged terrific ſcenes of nature to which they are uſed, gives the mind an hardineſs to encounter

THESE Indians are more desperate in wars than the other Indians, which proceeds not only from the fierceness of their natures, but also in that they know themselves to be better armed and weaponed, all of them wearing sea-horse skins, and barks of trees, made by their art, it is thought, as impenetrable as steel, wearing head-pieces of the same, under which they march securely and undauntedly, running and fiercely crying out, *Hadree hadree succomee, succomee*, we come we come to suck your blood; not fearing the feather'd shaft of the strong arm'd bow-men, but like unruly headstrong stallions beat them down with their right hand tomahawks, and left hand javelins, being all the weapons which they use, counting bows a cowardly fight. Tomakawks are staves of two feet and a half long, and a knob at one end, as round and as big as a foot-ball; a javelin is a short spear, headed with sharp sea-horse teeth: One blow or thrust with these strange weapons, will not need a second to hasten death, from a Mohawk's arm. I will conclude this discourse with a tragical rehearsal of one of their combats. A Sagamore inhabiting near these cannibals, was so daily annoyed with their injurious inhumanity, that he must either become a tributary subject to their tyranny, or release himself from thraldome by the stroke of war, which he was unable to wage of himself; wherefore, with fair entreaties, plausible persuasions, forcive arguments, and rich presents he sent to other Sagamores, he procured so many soldiers, as, summed with his own

encounter and a despicion in suffering the most painful death; besides as this is their custom in war the mind habituated to the chance of suffering lessens the horrid reality, nor are the greatest tortures to which they expose their prisoners cruel in their idea: The modern practice of confining prisoners in dungeons or jails would be to them much more insupportable, and death in all its horrid shapes the most eligible.

A passage in Polybius lib. 3. chap. 6. which I had not seen when the above note was written, is very explicit upon this subject.

own, made his forces ſix thouſand ſtrong; with which he reſolutely marched towards his enemies, intending either to win the horſe or loſe the ſaddle. His enemies having heard of his deſigns, plotted how to confront him in his enterprize, and overthrow him by treachery; which they thus attempted; knowing their enemies were to ſwim over a muddy river, they divided their bands, lying in ambuſh on both ſides the river, waiting his approach, who ſuſpected no danger, looking for nothing but victory; but immediately they were invironed with their unexpected foes, in their greateſt diſadvantage; for being in the water, ſhoot they could not, for ſwimming was their action; and when they came to the ſide they could not run away, for their feet ſtuck faſt in the mud, and their adverſaries impaled them about, clubbing and darting all that attained the ſhore; ſo that all were killed or captived, ſaving three, who ſwimming farther under water (like the duck that eſcapeth the ſpaniel by diving) until they were out of ſight of their bloody foes, recovered the ſhore, creeping into the thickets, from whence, after a little breathing, and reſting of their weary limbs, they marched through the woods, and arrived at their own homes, relating to their inquiſitive ſurvivers, the ſad event of their war, who a long time after deplored the death of their friends, placing the remembrance of that day in the callender of their miſhaps.

CHAP. II.

Of the Tarrenteens, *or the* Indians *inhabiting Weſtward.*

THE Tarrenteens, ſaving that they eat not man's fleſh, are little leſs ſavage and cruel than theſe cannibals. Our Indians do fear them as their deadly enemies; for ſo many as they meet they kill. About two

two years ago our Indians being busy about their accustomed huntings, not suspecting them so near their own liberties, were on the sudden surprized by them, some being slain, the rest escaping to their English asylum, whither they durst not pursue them; their Sagamore was wounded by an arrow, but presently cured by English chirurgery. These Indians are the more insolent by reason they have guns, which they daily trade for with the French (who will sell his eyes, as they say, for beaver) but these do them more credit than service; for having guns they want powder; or if they have that, they want shot; something or other being always wanting; so they use them but little, but to salute coasting boats that come to trade, who no sooner can anchor in any harbour, but they are saluted with a volley of shot, asking for sack and strong liquors, which they so much love since the English used to trade it with them, that they will scarce trade for any thing else, lashing out into excessive abuse, first taught by the example of some of the English, who to uncloath them of their beaver coat, clad them with the infection of swearing and drinking, which was never in fashion with them before, it being contrary to their nature to guzzle down strong drink, or use so much as to sip of strong waters, until our beastial example and dishonest incitation had too much brought them to it; from which I am sure hath sprung many evil consequences, as disorder, quarrels. wrongs, unconscionable and forcive wresting of Beaver and Wampompeage; and from over-flowing cups there hath been a proceeding to revenge, murder, and over-flowing of blood. As witness Mr. Wayes's boat, which they sunk with stones, after they had killed his son, with three more; buzzing the English in the ears, that they see it bulged against the rocks and the men drowned in the beating surges: but afterwards being betrayed, as many as were caught, were hanged.

hanged. Another who was situated on Richmond's Island, living as he list amongst them, making his covetous corrupt will his law, after many abuses, was with his family one evening treacherously murthered under a fair pretence of trade; so that these that lived beside the law of God, and their King, and the light of nature, died by their hands that cared neither for God, King, nor nature. Take these Indians in their own trim and natural disposition, and they be reported to be wise, lofty-spirited, constant in friendship to one another; true in their promise, and more industrious than many others.

CHAP. III.

Of the Pequants and Narraganſets, Indians inhabiting Southward.

THE Pequants be a stately warlike people, of whom I never heard any misdemeanour; but that they were just and equal in their dealings; not treacherous either to their countrymen or English; requiters of courtesies, affable towards the English. Their next neighbours the Narraganſets, be at this present the most numerous people in those parts, the most rich also, and the most industrious; being the store-house of all such kind of wild merchandize as is amongst them. These men are the most curious minters of their Wampompeage and Mowhacks, which they form out of the inmost wreaths of Periwinkle-shells. The northern, eastern, and western Indians fetch all their coin from these southern mint-makers. From hence they have most of their curious pendants and bracelets; from hence they have their great stone pipes, which will hold a quarter of an ounce of tobacco, which they

they make with steel drils and other instruments: such is their ingenuity and dexterity, that they can imitate the English mold so accurately, that were it not for matter and colour, it would be hard to distinguish them; they make them of green, and sometimes black stone; they be much desired of our English tobacconists, for their rarity, strength, handsomness and coolness. Hence likewise our Indians had their pots wherein they used to seeth their victuals, before they knew the use of brass. Since the English came, they have employed most of their time in catching of Beavers, Otters, and Musquashes, which they bring down into the Bay, returning back loaded with English commodities, of which they make a double profit by selling to more remote Indians, who are ignorant at what cheap rates they obtain them, in comparison of what they make them pay, so making their neighbours ignorance their enrichment. Although these be populous, yet I never heard they were desirous to take in hand any martial enterprize, or expose themselves to the uncertain events of war: wherefore the Pequants call them women-like men; but being uncapable of a jeer, they rest secure under the conceit of their popularity, and seek rather to grow rich by industry, than famous by deeds of chevalry. But to leave strangers, and come to declare what is experimentally known of the Indians amongst whom we live: of whom in the next chapter.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Aberginians or Indians Northward.

FIRST of their stature, most of them being between five and six feet high, strait bodied, strongly composed, smooth skined, merry countenance, of complexion something more swarthy than Spaniards, black haired,

high forehead, black eyed, out-nosed, broad shouldered, brawny arm'd, long and slender handed, out-breasted, small wasted, lank bellied, well thighed, flat knee'd, handsome grown legs, and small feet: In a word, take them when the blood is brisk in their veins, when the flesh is on their backs, and marrow in their bones, when they frolick in their antick deportments and Indian postures, they are more amiable to behold (though only in Adam's livery) than many a compounded phantastick in the newest fashion. It may puzzle belief, to conceive how such lusty bodies should have their rise and daily supportment from so slender a fostering; their houses being mean, their lodgings as homely, commons scant, their drink water, and nature their best cloathing; in them the old proverb may well be verified *(Natura paucis contenta)* for though this be their daily portion, they still are healthful and lusty. I have been in many places, yet did I never see one that was born either in defect or redundance a monster, or any that sickness had deformed, or casualty made decrepid, saving one that had a bleared eye, and another that had a wenne on his cheek. The reason rendered why they grow so proportionable, and continue so long in their vigour (most of them being 50 before a wrinkled brow or grey hair bewray their age) is, because they are not brought down with suppressing labour, vexed with annoying cares, or drowned in the excessive abuse of overflowing plenty, which oftentimes kills them more than want, as may appear in them. For when they change their bare Indian commons for the plenty of England's fuller diet, it is so contrary to their stomachs, that death or a desperate sickness immediately accrues, which makes so few of them desirous to see England. Their swarthiness is the sun's livery, for they are born fair.* Their smooth

* This was one of the popular errors given into by our author.

ſmooth ſkins proceed from the often anointing of their bodies with the oil of fiſhes, and the fat of eagles, with the fat of raccoons, which they hold in ſummer, the beſt antidote to keep their ſkin from bliſtering with the ſcorching ſun; and it is their beſt armour againſt the muſketoes, the ſureſt expeller of the hairy excrement, and ſtops the pores of their bodies againſt the nipping winters cold. Their black hair is natural, yet is brought to a more jetty colour by oiling, dying, and daily dreſſing. Sometimes they wear it very long, hanging down in a looſe diſhrivel'd womaniſh manner; other while tied up hard and ſhort like a horſe tail, bound cloſe with a fillet, which they ſay makes it grow the faſter; they are not a little fantaſtical, or cuſtom-ſick in this particular; their boys being not permitted to wear their hair long till ſixteen years of age, and then they muſt come to it by degrees; ſome being cut with a long foretop, a long lock on the crown, of each ſide his head, the reſt of his hair being cut even with his ſcalp: The young men and ſoldiers wear their hair long on the one ſide, the other ſide being cut ſhort like a ſcrew; other cuts they have as their fancy befools them, which would torture the wits of a curious barber to imitate. But tho' they be thus wedded to the hair of their head, you cannot woo them them to wear it on their chins, where it no ſooner grows, but it is ſtubbed up by the roots; for they count it as an unuſeful, cumberſome, and opprobrious excrement; inſomuch that they call him an Engliſhman's baſtard that hath but the appearance of a beard, which ſome have growing in a ſtaring faſhion, like the beard of a cat, which makes them the more out of love with them, chuſing rather to have no beards than ſuch as ſhould make them ridiculous.

CHAP. V.

Of their Apparel, Ornaments, Paintings, and other artificial Deckings.

NOW these naked bodies may seem too weak to withstand the assaulting heat of the piercing cold of the icy winters, or it may be surmised that these earthly fabricks should be wasted to nothing by the tempestuous dashing of wind-driven rains, having neither that which may warm within, or shelter without; yet these things they look not after, saving a pair of Indian breeches to cover that which modesty commands to be hid, which is but a piece of cloth a yard and a half long, put between their groinings, tied with a snake's skin about the middle, one end hanging down with a flap before, the other like a tail behind. In the winter time the more aged of them wear leather drawers, in form like Irish trouses, fastened under their girdles with buttons; they wear shoes likewise of their own making, cut out of a moose's hide; many of them wear skins about them, in form of an Irish mantle, and of these some be bears skins, mooses skins, and beaver skins sewed together, otter skins, and raccoon skins, most of them in the winter having his deep fur'd cat-skin, like a long large muff, which he shifts to that arm which lieth most exposed to the wind; thus clad, he bustles better through a world of cold in a frost-paved wilderness, than the furred citizen in his warm stove. If their fancy drive them to trade, they choose rather a good coarse blanket, through which they cannot see, interposing it between the sun and them; or a piece of broad cloth, which they use for a double end,

end, making it a coat by day, and a covering by night; they love not to be imprisoned in our English fashion; they love their own dog-fashion better (of shaking their ears, and being ready in a moment) than to spend time in dressing them, though they may as well spare it as any men I know, having little else to do. But the chief reasons they render why they do not conform to our English apparel, are because their women cannot wash them when they be soiled, and their means will not reach to buy new when they have done with their old; and they confidently believe the English will not be so liberal as to furnish them upon gifture; therefore they had rather go naked than be lousy, and bring their bodies out of their old tune, making them more tender by a new acquired habit, which poverty would constrain them to leave. Altho' they be thus poor, yet is there in them the sparks of natural pride, which appears in their longing desires after many kinds of ornaments, wearing pendants in their ears, as forms of birds, beasts and fishes, carved out of bone, shells and stone, with long bracelets of their curious wrought wampompeage and mowhacks, which they put about their loins; these they count a rare kind of decking; many of the better sort bearing upon their cheeks certain pourtraitures of beasts, as bears, deers, mooses, woolves, &c. some of fowls, as of eagles, hawks, &c. which are not a superficial painting, but a certain incision, or else a raising of their skin by a small sharp instrument, under which they convey a certain kind of black unchangeable ink, which makes the desired form apparent and permanent. Others have certain round impressions down the outside of their arms and breasts, in some of mullets or spur-rowels, which they imprint by searing irons: Whether these be foils to illustrate their unparallelled beauty (as they deem it) or arms to blazon their antique

tique gentility, I cannot eaſily determine; but a Sagamore with a humbird in his ear for a pendant, a black hawk on his *occiput* for his plume, mowhacks for his gold chain, good ſtore of wampompeage begirting his loins, his bow in his hand, his quiver at his back, with ſix naked Indian ſpatterlaſhes as his heels for his guard, thinks himſelf little inferiour to the great Cham, he will not ſtick to ſay he is all one with King Charles. He thinks he can blow down caſtles with his breath, and conquer kingdoms with his conceit. This Pompey can endure no equal till one day's adverſe lottery at their game (called Puimme) metamorphize him into a Codrus, robbing him of his conceited wealth, leaving him in mind and riches, equal with his naked attendants, till a new taxation furniſh him with a freſh ſupply.

CHAP. VI.

Of their Diet, Cookery, Meal-Times, and Hoſpitality at their Kettles.

HAVING done with the moſt needful cloathings and ornamental deckings; may it pleaſe you to feaſt your eyes with their beſt belly-timbers; which I ſuppoſe would be but *ſtibium* to weak ſtomachs, as they cook it, tho' never ſo good of itſelf. In winter-time they have all manner of fowls of the water and of the land, and beaſts of the land and water, pond-fiſh, with catharres and other roots, Indian beans and clams. In the ſummer they have all manner of ſea-fiſh, with all ſorts of berries. For the ordering of their victuals, they boil or roaſt them, having large kettles

kettles which they traded for with the French long ſince, and do ſtill buy of the Engliſh as their need requires, before they had ſubſtantial earthen pots of their own making. Their ſpits are no other than cloven ſticks ſharped at one end to thruſt into the ground: into theſe cloven ſticks they thruſt the fleſh or fiſh they would have roaſted, behemming a round fire with a dozen of ſpits at a time, turning them as they ſee occaſion. Some of their ſcullery having dreſſed theſe homely cates, preſent it to their gueſts, diſhing it up in a rude manner, placing it on the verdant carpet of the earth which nature ſpreads them, without either trenchers, napkins, or knives, upon which their hunger-ſauced ſtomachs, impatient of delays, fall aboard, without ſcrupling at unwaſhed hands, without bread, ſalt, or beer; lolling on the Turkiſh faſhion, not ceaſing till their full bellies leave nothing but empty platters. They ſeldom or never make bread of their Indian corn, but ſeeth it whole like beans, eating three or four corns with a mouthful of fiſh or fleſh, ſometimes eating meat firſt, and corns after, filling up the chinks with their broth. In ſummer, when their corn is ſpent, iſquoterſquaſhes is their beſt bread, a fruit much like a pumpion. To ſay, and to ſpeak paradoxically, they be great eaters, and little meat men. When they viſit our Engliſh, being invited to eat, they are very moderate, whether it be to ſhew their manners, or for ſhamefac'dneſs, I know not, but at home they eat till their bellies ſtand ſouth, ready to ſplit with fulneſs; it being their faſhion to eat all at ſometimes, and ſometimes nothing at all in two or three days, wiſe providence being a ſtranger to their wilder ways: They be right infidels; neither caring for the morrow, or providing for their own families; but as all are fellows at football, ſo they all

meet

meet friends at the kettle, ſaving their wives, that dance a ſpaniel-like attendance at their backs, for their bony fragments. If their imperious occaſions cauſe them to travel, the beſt of their victuals for their journey is Nocake (as they call it) which is nothing but Indian corn parched in the hot aſhes; the aſhes being ſifted from it, it is afterwards beat to powder, and put into a long leathern bag, truſſed at their backs like a knapſack, out of which they take thrice three ſpoonfuls a day, dividing it into three meals. If it be in winter, and ſnow be on the ground, they can eat when they pleaſe, ſtopping ſnow after their duſty victuals, which otherwiſe would feed them little better than a Tyburn halter. In ſummer they muſt ſtay till they meet with a ſpring or brook, when they may have water to prevent the imminent danger of choaking. With this ſtrange *viaticum* they will travel four or five days days together, with loads fitter for elephants than men. But though they can fare ſo hardly abroad, their chaps muſt walk night and day, as long as they have it. They keep no ſet meals, their ſtore being ſpent, they champ on the bit, till they meet with freſh ſupplies, either from their own endeavours, or their wives induſtry, who trudge to the clam-banks when all other means fail. Though they be ſometimes ſcanted, yet are they as free as Emperors, both to their countrymen and Engliſh, be he ſtranger, or near acquaintance; counting it a great diſcourtefy, not to eat of their high-conceited delicates, and ſup of their un-oat-meal'd broth, made thick with fiſhes, fowls and beaſts boiled all together; ſome remaining raw, the reſt converted, by overmuch ſeething, to a loathed maſh, not half ſo good as Iriſh bonniclapper.

CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Dispositions and good Qualifications, as Friendship, Constancy, Truth and Affability.

TO enter into a serious discourse concerning the natural conditions of these Indians, might procure admiration from the people of any civilized nations, in regard of their civility and good natures. If a tree may be judged by his fruit, and dispositions calculated by exterior actions, then may it be concluded that these Indians are of affable, courteous, and well-disposed natures, ready to communicate the best of their wealth to the mutual good of one another; and the less abundance they have to shew their entire friendship, so much the more perspicuous is their love, in that they are as willing to part with their mite in poverty, as treasure in plenty. As he that kills a deer sends for his friend, and eats it merrily; so he that receives but a piece of bread from an English hand, parts it equally between himself and his comrades, and eats it lovingly. In a word, a friend can command his friend, his house, and whatsoever is his (saving his wife) and have it freely: And as they are love-linked thus in common courtesy, so are they no way sooner disjointed than by ingratitude; accounting an ungrateful person a double robber of a man, not only of his courtesy, but of his thanks, which he might receive of another for the same proffered or received kindness. Such is their love to one another, that they cannot endure to see their countrymen wronged, but will stand stiffly in their defence, plead strongly in their behalf, and justify one anothers integrity in any warrantable action. If it were possible to recount the

courteſies they have ſhewed the Engliſh, ſince their firſt arrival in thoſe parts, it would not only ſteady belief, that they are a loving people, but alſo win the love of thoſe that never ſaw them, and wipe off that needleſs fear that is too deeply rooted in the conceits of many, who think them envious; and of ſuch rankerous and inhumane diſpoſitions, that they will one day make an end of all their Engliſh inmates. The worſt indeed may be ſurmiſed, but the Engliſh hitherto have had little cauſe to ſuſpect them, but rather to be convinced of their trguineſs, ſeeing they have as yet been the diſcloſers of all ſuch treacheries as have been practiſed by other Indians. And whereas once there was a proffer of a univerſal league amongſt all the Indians in thoſe parts, to the intent that they might all join in one united force, to extirpate the Engliſh, our Indians refuſed the motion, replying, they had rather be ſervants to the Engliſh, of whom they were confident to receive no harm, and from whom they had received ſo many favours, and aſſured good teſtimonies of their love, than equals with them, who would cut their throats upon the leaſt offence, and make them the ſhambles of their cruelty. Furthermore, if any roving ſhip be upon the coaſts, and chance to harbour either eaſtward, northward, or ſouthward, in any unuſual port, they will give us certain intelligence of her burthen and forces, deſcribing the men, either by language or features; which is a great privilege and no ſmall advantage. Many ways hath their advice and endeavour been advantageous unto us: they being our firſt inſtructors for the planting of their Indian corn, by teaching us to cull out the fineſt ſeed, to obſerve the fitteſt ſeaſon, to keep diſtance for holes, and fit meaſures for hills, to worm it and weed it, to prune it and dreſs it, as occaſion ſhall require.

THESE Indians be very hospitable, insomuch, that when the English have travelled forty, fifty, or threescore miles into the country, they have entertained them into their houses, quartered them by themselves in the best rooms, providing the best victuals, expressing their welcome in as good terms as could be expected from their slender breeding, shewing more love than complement, not grumbling for a fortnight or three weeks tarrying; but rather caring to provide accommodation correspondent to their English custom. The doubtful traveller hath often been beholden to them for their guidance through the unbeaten wilderness; myself in this particular can do no less in the due acknowledgment of their love, than speak their commendation, who with two more of my associates, bending our course to New-Plymouth, lost our way, being deluded by a misleading path, which we still followed, being as we thought too broad for an Indian path (which seldom is broader than a cart's rut) but that the daily concourse of Indians from the Narraganfets, who traded for shoes, wearing them homewards, had made this Indian track like an English walk, and had rear'd up great sticks against the trees, and marked the rest with their hatchets in the English fashion, which begat in us a security of our wrong way to be right, when indeed there was nothing less. The day being gloomy, and our compasses at home, we travelled hard till night, to less purpose than if we had sat still, not gaining an inch of our journey for a day's travel; but happily we arrived at an Indian wigwam, where we were informed of our misprision, and invited to a homely lodging, feasted with the haunch of a fat bear, and the ensuing morning the son of my naked host, for a piece of tobacco, and a four-penny whittle, took the clue of his travelling experience, conducting us through the strange labyrinth of

unbeaten bushy ways in the woody wilderness, twenty miles to our desired harbour.

A second demonstration of their love in this kind may appear in a passage of the same nature. An unexperienced wood-man ranging in the woods for deer, travelled so far beyond his knowledge, till he could not tell how to get out of the wood for trees, but the more he sought to direct himself out, the more he ran himself in, from the home he most desired; the night came upon him preventing his walking, and the extremity of cold seizing his right foot, for want of warming motion, deprived him of the use thereof, so that he could not move farther than his snowy bed, but had there ended his days, had not six commiserating Indians, who heard of his wandering, found him out by diligent search, being almost dead with despair and cold; but after they had conquered his despair with the assurance of his habitation, and expelled the cold by the infusion of strong waters, which they brought for the same purpose; they framed a thing like a hand-barrow, and carried this self-helpless person on their bare shoulders twelve miles to his residence. Many other wandering benighted coasters have been kindly entertained into their habitations, where they have rested and reposed themselves more securely than if they had been in some blind obscure Old England inn, being the next day directed in their right way, many lazy boys that have run away from their masters, have been brought home by these ranging forresters, who are as well acquainted with the craggy mountains and the pleasant vales, the stately woods and swampy groves, the spacious ponds, and swift running rivers, and can distinguish them by their names as perfectly, and find them as presently, as the experienced citizen knows how to find out cheapside cross, or London stone.

stone.* Such is the wisdom and policy of these poor men, that they will be sure to keep correspondence with our English magistrates; expressing their love in the execution of any service they command them, so far as lies in their power, as may appear in one particular. A certain man having laid himself open to the King's laws, fearing attachment, conviction, and consequently execution, sequestered himself from the honest society of his neighbours, betaking himself to the obscure thickets of the wilderness, where he lived for a time undiscovered, till the Indians, who leave no place unsearched for deer, found out his haunt, and having taken notice by diverse discourses concerning him, how that it was the Governor's desire to know where he was; they thought it a part of their service to certify him where he kept his rendezvous; who thereupon desired if they could to direct men to him for his attachment, but he had shifted his dwelling, and could not be found for the present; yet he was after seen by other Indians, but being double pistol'd, and well sworded, they feared to approach so near him as to grapple with him; wherefore they let him alone till his own necessary business cast him upon them; for having occasion to cross over a river, he came to the side thereof, where was an Indian canoe, in which the Indians were to cross the river themselves; he vauntingly commanded passage; which they willingly granted, but withal plotting how they might

* Capt. Smith mentions a story which shews the cunning of these Savages: One Uttamatomakkin was sent by Pouhatan, the great Sagamore of Virginia, into England, under pretence of accompanying his daughter married to an English gentleman, but in reality to number the people, and inform him what they were, and of their state: Upon his arrival at Plymouth he got a long stick, and by notches he thought to have kept the number of all the men he saw; but as Smith observes, "he grew quickly weary of the task."

might take him priſoner; which they thus effected; having placed him in the midſhip of their tickliſh wherry, they launched forth into the deep, cauſing the capering canoe to caſt out her cumberſome ballaſt into the liquid water, which ſwam like a ſtone; and now the water having dank'd his piſtols, and loſt his Spaniſh progge at the bottom, the Indians ſwam him out by the chin to the ſhore, where having dropt a little dry, he began to bluſter out a ſtorm of rebellious reſiſtance, till they becalmed his pelting chafe with their pelting pebbles at him, afterwards leading him as they liſt to the Governor. Theſe people be of a kind and affable diſpoſition, yet are they very wary with whom they ſtrike hands in friendſhip; nothing is more hateful to them than a churliſh diſpoſition; ſo likewiſe is diſſimulation: He that ſpeaks ſeldom and opportunely, being as good as his word, is the only man they love. The Spaniard they ſay is all one *aramouſe* (viz. all one as a dog) the Frenchman hath a good tongue, but a falſe heart; the Engliſhman all one ſpeak, all one heart; wherefore they more approve of them than of any nation. Garulity is much condemned of them; for they utter not many words, ſpeak ſeldom, and then with ſuch gravity as is pleaſing to the ear. Such as underſtand them not, deſire yet to hear their emphatical expreſſions, and lively action; ſuch is the mild temper of their ſpirits that they cannot endure objurgations, or ſcoldings. An Indian Sagamore once hearing an Engliſh woman ſcold with her husband, her quick utterance exceeding his apprehenſion, her active lungs thundering in his ears, expelled him the houſe, from whence he went to the next neighbour, where he related the unſeemlineſs of her behaviour; her language being ſtrange to him, he expreſſed it as ſtrangely, telling them how ſhe cried Nannana Nannana Nannana Nan, ſaying he was a great

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fool to give her the audience, and no correction for usurping his charter, and abusing him by her tongue. I have been amongst diverse of them, yet did I never see any falling out amongst them, not so much as cross words, or reviling speeches, which might provoke to blows. And whereas it is the custom of many people in their games, if the dice run cross, or their cards not answer their expectations, what cursing and swearing, what imprecations, and railings, fightings and stabbings oftentimes proceed from their testy spleen? How do their blustering passions make the place troublesome to themselves and others? But I have known when four of these milder spirits have sit down staking their treasures, where they have played four and twenty hours, neither eating, drinking or sleeping in the interim; nay, which is most to be wondered at, not quarrelling, but as they came thither in peace, so they depart in peace; when he that had lost all his wampompeage, his house, his kettle, his beaver, his hatchet, his knife, yea all his little all, having nothing left but his naked self, was as merry as they that won it. So in sports of activity at football, though they play never so fiercely to outward appearance, yet anger-boiling blood never streams in their cooler veins; if any man be thrown, he laughs out his foil, there is no seeking of revenge, no quarrelling, no bloody noses, scratched faces, black eyes, broken shins, no bruised members, or crushed ribs, the lamentable effects of rage; but the goal being won, the goods on the one side lost; friends they were at the football, and friends they must meet at the kettle. I never heard yet of that Indian that was his neighbour's homicide or vexation by his malepert, saucy, or uncivil tongue. Laughter in them is not common, seldom exceeding a smile, never breaking out into a loud laughter, as do many of our English. Of all things they love not

to

to be laugh'd at upon any occaſion; if a man be in trade with them, and the bargain be almoſt ſtruck, if they perceive you laugh, they will ſcarce proceed, ſuppoſing you laugh becauſe you have cheated them: the Crocodile's tears may ſooner deceive them than the Hiena's ſmiles. Although they be not much addicted to laughter, yet are they not of a dumpiſh ſad nature, but rather naturally chearful. As I never ſaw a giggling Democrite, ſo I never ſaw a tear-dropping Heraclite; no diſaſter being ſo prevalent as to open the flood-gate of their eyes, ſaving the death of friends, for whom they lament moſt exceedingly.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Hardineſs.

FOR their hardineſs, it may procure admiration, no ordinary pains making them ſo much as alter their countenance; beat them, whip them, pinch them, punch them, if they reſolve not to wince for it, they will not; whether it be their benumbed inſenſibleneſs of ſmart, or their hardy reſolutions, I cannot tell: It might be, a Perillus's bull, or the disjointing rack might force a roar from them, but a Turkiſh drubbing would not much moleſt them; and although they be naturally much afraid of death, yet the unexpected approach of a mortal wound by a bullet, arrow, or ſword, ſtrikes no more terror, cauſes no more exclamation, no more complaint or winching, than if it had been a ſhot in the body of a tree; ſuch wounds as would be ſudden death to an Engliſhman, would be nothing to them. Some of them have been ſhot in at the mouth, and out at the ear; ſome ſhot in the breaſt; ſome run through the flanks with darts, and other deſperate wounds, which either by their rare

ſkill

skill in the use of vegetatives, or diabolical charms, they cure in a short time. Altho' their hardiness bear them out in such things wherein they are sure death will not ensue, yet can it not expel the fear of death; the very name and thought of it is so hideous to them, or any thing that presents it, or threatens it, so terrible; insomuch that an hundred of them will run from two or three guns, tho' they know they can but dispatch two or three at a discharge; yet every man fearing it may be his lot to meet with his last, will not come near that in good earnest, which he dare play withal in jest. To make this good by a passage of experience; three men having occasion of trade amongst the western Indians, went up with some such commodities as they thought most fit for trade; to secure their persons they took a carbine, two pistols and a sword, which in outward shew was not great resistance to a hundred well skilled bowmen: The Indians hearing their guns make a thundering noise, desired to finger one of them, and see it discharged into a tree, wondering much at the percussion of the bullet, but they abiding two or three days, the guns were forgotten, and they began to look at the odds being a hundred to three, whereupon they were animated to work treason against the lives of these men, and to take away their goods from them by force; but one of the English understanding their language, smelt out their treachery, and being more fully informed of their intent by the Indian women, who had more pity, he steps to their king, and hailing him by the long hair from the rest of his council, commanded him either to go before him and guide him home, or else he would there kill him. The Sagamore seeing him so rough, had not the courage to resist him, but went with him two miles; but being exasperated by his men, who followed him along, to resist, and go no

further; in the end he would not, neither for fair promises nor threatnings; so they were constrained there to kill him; which struck such an amazement and daunting into the rest of that naked crew, with the sight of the guns, that tho' they might easily have killed them, yet had they not the power to shoot an arrow, but followed them yelling and howling for the death of their king forty miles; his goods being left among them, he sent word by other Indians, that unless they sent him his goods again, which he there left, he would serve them as he had served their king; whereupon they returned him his commodities with intreaties of peace, and promise of fairer trade if he came again. If these heartless Indians were so cowed with so slender an onset on their own dunghill, when there were scarce six families of ours in the country, what need we now to fear them, being grown into thousands, and having knowledge of martial discipline?*

In

* Courage is induced almost wholly by habit; in the common people it is mechanical, nor can they retain their spirit when ejected from that method to which they have been accustomed in fighting. The Parthians and Numidians displayed their courage by frequently retreating and as often returning to the charge: The Macedonian phalanx by its heavy pressure weighed down the ranks of its enemies, but lost all courage if broken and dissolved; by insidious wiles the Carthaginians shewed themselves; the Romans in generous and manly engagements; thus each of the Grecian states trained their forces in a method peculiar to itself, out of which they were spiritless and disheartned. In all mechanic courage the mind has a certain point or prop upon which it is supported, its firmness is destroyed when this is undermined, and this opens the distinction between true bravery and what is called courage; for that seeks not its own safety, but the attainment of its pursuit, though with the loss of life.

One sometimes meets with a blustering fellow, a burlesque upon bravery, overbearing to every one who hath less brutal strength than himself; such fellows have the most cowardly hearts when called upon in a way where their strength gives them no superiority.

In the night they need not be feared; for they will not budge from their own dwellings for fear of their *Abamacho* (the Devil) whom they much fear, especially in evil enterprizes; they will rather lay by an English fire, than go a quarter of a mile in the dark to their own dwellings: But they are well freed from this scare-crow since the coming of the English, and less care for his delusions, And whereas it hath been reported that there are such horrible apparitions, fearful roarings, thundering and lightning raised by the devil, to discourage the English in their settling; I for my own part never saw or heard of any of these things in the country; nor indeed have I heard of any Indians that have lately been put in fear, saving two or three, and they worse scar'd than hurt, who seeing a blackamore in the top of a tree looking out for his way, which he had lost, surmised he was *Abamacho*, or the devil; deeming all devils that are blacker than themselves; and being near to the plantation, they posted to the English, and intreated their aid to conjure this devil to his own place, who finding him to be a poor wandering blackamore, conducted him to his master.

CHAP. IX.

Of their wondering at the first View of any strange Invention.

THESE Indians being strangers to arts and sciences, and being unacquainted with the inventions that are common to civilized people, are ravish'd with admiration at the first view of any such sight. They took the first ship they saw for a walking island, the

masts to be trees, the sails white clouds, and the discharge of ordnance for lightning and thunder, which did much trouble them; but this thunder being over, and this moving island steddied with an anchor, they manned out their canoes to go and pick strawberries there; but being saluted by the way with a broadside, they cried out, what much hoggery, so big walk, and so big speak, and by and by kill; which caused them to turn back, not daring to approach till they were sent for. They do much extol and wonder at the English for their strange inventions, especially for a windmill, which in their esteem was little less than the world's wonder, for the strangeness of his whirking motion, and the sharp teeth biting the corn (as they term it) into such small pieces; they were loth at first to come near to his long arms, or to abide in so tottering a tabernacle, tho' now they dare go any where, so far as they have an English guide. The first ploughman was counted little better than a juggler; the Indians seeing the plough tear up more ground in a day, than their clam shells could scrape up in a month, desired to see the workmanship of it, and viewing well the coulter and share, perceiving it to be iron, told the ploughman he was almost *Abamacho*, almost as cunning as the Devil; but the fresh supplies of new and strange objects hath lessen'd their admiration, and quickned their inventions, and desire of practising such things as they see, wherein they express no small ingenuity and dexterity of wit, being neither furthered by art or long experience. It is thought they would soon learn any mechanical trades, having quick wits, understanding apprehensions, strong memories, with nimble inventions and a quick hand in using the ax or hatchet, or such like tools: Much good might they receive from the English, and much might they benefit themselves, if they were not strongly

fettered

fettered in the chains of idleneſs; ſo as they had rather ſtarve than work; they follow no employments ſaving ſuch as are ſweetned with more pleaſures and profits than pains or care; and this is indeed one of the greateſt accuſations than can be laid againſt them, which lies but upon the men (the women being very induſtrious) but it may be hoped that good example, and good inſtructions, may bring them to a more induſtrious and provident courſe of life. For already as they have learned much ſubtilty and cunning by bargaining with the Engliſh, ſo have they a little degenerated from their lazy cuſtoms, and ſhew themſelves more induſtrious. In a word, to ſet them out in their beſt colours, they be wiſe in their carriage, ſubtle in their dealings, true in their promiſe, honeſt in defreying their debts, tho' poverty conſtrain them to be ſomething long before; ſome having died in the Engliſh debt, had left beaver by order of will for their ſatisfaction. They be conſtant in friendſhip, merrily conceited in diſcourſe, not luxurioufly abounding in youth, nor dotingly froward in old age; many of them being much civilized ſince the Engliſh colonies were planted, tho' but little edified in religion. They frequent often the Engliſh churches, where they will ſit ſoberly, tho' they underſtand not ſuch hidden myſteries. They do eaſily believe ſome of the hiſtory of the bible, as the creation of the world, the making of man, with his fall; but come to tell them of a Saviour, with all the paſſages of the goſpel, and it exceeds ſo far their Indian belief, that they will cry out (*Pocatnie*, i. e.) is it poſſible? yet ſuch is their conviction of the right way, that when ſome Engliſh have come to their houſes, victuals being offered them, forgetting to crave God's bleſſing upon the creatures received, they have been reproved by thoſe, which formerly never knew what

what calling upon God meant. † Thus far for their natural disposition and qualities. ‡

CHAP. X.

Of their Kings Government, and Subjects Obedience.

NOW for the matter of government among them: It is the custom for their Kings to inherit, the son always taking the kingdom after his father's death. If

† The christianizing the Indians scarcely affords a probabiltyof success; for their immense sloth, their incapacity to consider abstract truth, hunting, their way of life, highly inimical to thought and reflection, and their perpetual wanderings, which prevent a steady worship, greatly impede the progress of Christianity, a mode of religion adapted to the most refined temper of the human mind; nor, from the present situation of the Indians, is there an hope of reducing them to a settled life; and as every attempt to civilize them, since the first settlement of this country, hath proved abortive, if we consider the necessity of this civilization, previous to Christianity, it will rather appear a Utopian amusement, than a probable pursuit.

‡ The same appetites and passions are possessed by all nations in common, and tho' variously modified agreeably to their different governments, manners and customs, yet they are virtually the same, and equally impell as either predominate. This prevalency forms the national character, and more or less tinges the actions of every individual. By suppleness to your passions, and pliancy to your will, a Frenchman aims at being agreeable; this subservient temper a monarchy never fails to induce; whilst the libertine Englishman, with an honest frankness, hath the same object in view—the original character determines the different path. The feroce manners of a native Indian can never be effaced, nor can the most finished politeness totally eradicate the wild lines of his education.

This ground-work, this particular prevalency displays a peculiar cast upon every feature, nor, however highly finished, can it be wholly wrought off the canvas; a nice observer may still discern the varying shades which scarce catch the tinge.

If there be no ſon, then the Queen rules; if no Queen, the next to the blood-royal; whoever comes in otherwiſe, is but counted an uſurping intruder, and if his fair carriage bear him not out the better, they will ſoon unſcepter him.

THE Kings have not many laws to command by,* nor have they any annual revenues; yet commonly are they ſo either feared or beloved, that half their ſubjects eſtates are at their ſervice, and their perſons at

* Amongſt the various tribes of Indians, ſcattered upon this immenſe continent, there is a great ſimilarity in the mode of government; all of them being of the patriarchal kind, which moſt probably was the origine of government; at leaſt it is a diſtinction the moſt obvious, and hath been found amongſt the moſt ſimple people, approaching neareſt to the ſtate of nature; and to this day is the prevailing principle in the Chineſe government, of all modern Empires the moſt extenſive, as it was the moſt cultivated of all the ancient. As mankind increaſed, ſocieties aroſe, and the government of them varied as their particular circumſtances and views differed; the laws of which being meer inventions to controul the irregular purſuits of individuals. To men fond of power there appears nothing difficult in government, in forming proper laws for ſociety, but when we conſider the alterations which take place in the human mind, the modes and faſhions, if they may be ſo called, of ſentiments, the prevailing manners and vices of one age, from thoſe of another; at the ſame time the ſelfiſh views of the individuals, and the winding roads leading thereto, all ſtrongly tinctured with the general character, and the neceſſity of controuling theſe various principles for the univerſal good, it will ſoon appear a taſk adequate to the utmoſt ability of the human underſtanding: If we bring this to matter of fact, we ſhall no longer wonder at the motly patchwork laws of ſome governments, meer imperfect temporary expedients, withering under practice, and like the logician's hoſe, requiring ſo many amendments, that they change their nature and fall out of exiſtence.

at his command; by which command he is better known than by any thing else. For tho' he hath no kingly robes to make him glorious in the view of his subjects, no daily guards to secure his person, or court-like attendance, nor sumptuous palaces; yet do they yield all submissive subjection to him, accounting him their Sovereign; going at his command, and coming at his beck; not so much as expostulating the cause, tho' it be in matters thwarting their wills; he being accounted a disloyal subject, that will not effect what his Prince commands. Whosoever is known to plot treason or to lay violent hands on his lawful King, is presently executed. Once a year he takes his progress, accompanied with a dozen of his best subjects, to view his country, to recreate himself, and establish good order. When he enters into any of their houses, without any more complement, he is desired to sit down on the ground (for they neither use stools nor cushions) and after a little respite, all that be present, come in, and sit down by him, one of his seniors pronouncing an oration gratulatory to his majesty for his love, and the many good things they enjoy under his peaceful government. A King of large dominions hath his viceroys, or inferiour kings under him, to agitate his state affairs, and keep his subjects in good decorum. Other officers there be, but how to distinguish them by their names is something difficult. For their laws, as their evil courses come short of many other nations, so they have not so many laws, tho' they be not without some, which they inflict upon notorious malefactors, as traytors to their Prince, inhuman murderers, and some say for adultery, but I cannot warrant it for a truth. For theft, as they have nothing to steal worth the life of a man, therefore they have no law to execute for trifles; a subject being precious in the

eye

eye of his prince, where men are ſo ſcarce.§ A male-factor having deſerved death, being apprehended, is brought before the king and ſome other of the wiſeſt men, where they enquire out the original of the thing; after proceeding by aggravation of circumſtances, he is found guilty, and being caſt by the jury of their ſtrict inquiſition, he is condemned, and executed on this manner: The executioner comes in, who blind-folds the party, ſets him in the publick view, and brains him with a tomahawk or club; which done, his friends bury him. Other means to reſtrain abuſes they have none, ſaving admonition or reproof; no whippings, no priſons, ſtocks, bilboes, or the like.

O CHAP. XI.

§ It hath long been a reflection upon the Britiſh laws, that death is the puniſhment of crimes where the welfare of the ſtate or the life of an individual is not endangered. Is the death of a ſubject a proportional or politic reparation for his treſpaſſing upon the property of another? his liberty, his labour may be forfeited to the community, as much more equitable.

In Holland few crimes are committed, for few are puniſhed capitally, none go unpuniſhed, and a confinement for twenty years to the moſt laborious work is oftentimes annexed to the theft of a ducat. This is a conſtant ſpectacle to the people, and preſerves the idea and terror of the puniſhment; whilſt in England the frequency and quickneſs of death ſoon obliterate its terrors.

It is however a ſavage maxim in the Dutch law to take from the proſecutor the power of ſuſpending his action, if once commenced, the law is inexorable, and allows no expiation, and in all their towns, as ornaments to their ſtadt-houſes, one meets with emblems of the ſtricteſt juſtice, repreſentations of the moſt ancient ſeverity; which, en paſſant, is a great cauſe of their cruelty; for accuſtomed to the ſeverity of their government, unuſed to the benign interpoſition of mercy, when once the idea of injury is excited, nothing can relax revenge, unleſs it is controuled by the ſtrongeſt of all their byaſſes, avarice.

A government whoſe laws are founded upon inexorable juſtice, always creates a cruel diſpoſition in its ſubjects.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Marriages.

NOW to speak something of their marriages, the Kings or great Powowes, alias Comurers, may have two or three wives; but seldom use it. Men of ordinary rank have but one; which disproves the report that they had eight or ten wives apiece. When a man hath a desire to marry, he first gets the good-will of the maid or widow, after, the consent of her friends for her part; and for himself, if he be at his own disposing, if the king will, the match is made, her dowry of wompompeage paid, the king joins their hands with their hearts, never to part till death, unless she prove a whore; for which they may; and some have put away their wives, as may appear by a story. There was one Abamoch married a wife, whom a long time he loved above her deservings; for that she often in his absence entertained strangers; of which he was oftentimes informed by his neighbours; but he harbouring no spark of jealousy, believed not their false informations (as he deemed them) being in a manner angry, that they should slander his wife, of whose constancy he was so strongly conceited. A long time did her whorish glozing and Syren-like tongue, with her subtle carriage, establish her in her husband's favour, till fresh complaints caused him to cast about, how to find out the truth and to prove his friends lyars, and his wife honest, or her a whore, and his friends true; whereupon he pretended a long journey to visit his friends, provided all accoutrements for a fortnight's journey; telling his wife it would be so long before she could expect his return, who outwardly sorrowed for his departure, but inwardly rejoiced, that she

she should enjoy the society of her old Lemman, whom she sent for with expedition, not suspecting her husband's plot, who lay not many miles off in the woods; who after their dishonest revelings, when they were in their midnight sleep, approacheth the wigwam, enters the door, which was neither barred nor lock'd, makes a light to discover what they little suspected; but finding his friends words to be true, he takes a good bastinado in his hand, brought for the same purpose, dragging him by the hair from his usurped bed, so lamentably beating him, that his battered bones and bruised flesh made him a fitter subject for some skilful surgeon, than the lovely object of a lustful strumpet; which done he put away his wife, exposing her to the courtesy of strangers for her maintenance, that so courtesan-like had entertained a stranger into her bosom.

CHAP. XII.

Of their Worship, Invocations and Conjurations.

NOW of their worships. As it is natural for all mortals to worship something, so do these people; but exactly to describe to whom their worship is chiefly bent, is very difficult; they acknowledge especially two, Ketan, who is their good God, to whom they sacrifice (as the ancient heathen did to Ceres) after their garners be full with a good crop: Upon this God likewise they invocate for fair weather, for rain in time of drought, and for the recovery of their sick; but if they do not hear them, then they verify the old verse, *Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo;* their Powows betaking themselves to their exorcisms, and necromantick charms, by which

they bring to paſs ſtrange things, if we may believe the Indians, who report of one Piſſacannawa, that he can make the water burn, the rocks move, the trees dance, metamorphize himſelf into a flaming man. But it may objected this is but *deceptio viſus.* He will therefore do more, for in winter, when there is no green leaves to be got, he will burn an old one to aſhes, and putting theſe into the water, produce a new green leaf, which you ſhall not only ſee, but ſubſtantially handle and carry away; and make a dead ſnake's ſkin a living ſnake, both to be ſeen, felt, and heard: This I write but upon the report of the Indians, who confidently affirm ſtranger things. But to make manifeſt that by God's permiſſion, thro' the devil's help, their charms are of force to produce effects of wonderment. An honeſt gentleman related a ſtory to me, being an eye-witneſs of the ſame: A Powow having a patient, with the ſtump of a ſmall tree run through his foot, being paſt the cure of his ordinary ſurgery, betook himſelf to his charms, and being willing to ſhew his miracle before the Engliſh ſtranger, he wrapt a piece of cloth about the foot of the lame man; upon that wrapping a beaver ſkin, thro' which he laying his mouth to the beaver ſkin, by his ſucking charms, brought out the ſtump, which he ſpat in a tray of water, returning the foot as whole as its fellow in a ſhort time. The manner of their action in their conjuration is thus: The parties that are ſick or lame are brought before them, the Powow ſitting down, the reſt of the Indians give attentive audience to his imprecations and invocations, and after the violent expreſſion of many a hideous bellowing and groaning, he makes a ſtop, and then all the auditors with one voice utter a ſhort canto; which done, the Powow ſtill proceeds in his invocations, ſometimes roaring like a bear, other times groaning like a dying horſe, foaming at

the

the mouth like a chaſed boar, ſmiting on his naked breaſt and thighs, with ſuch violence as if he were mad: Thus will he continue ſometimes half a day, ſpending his lungs, ſweating out his fat, and tormenting his body in this diabolical worſhip: Sometimes the devil for requital of their worſhip, recovers the party, to nuzzle them up in their deviliſh religion.† In former time he was wont to carry away their wives and children, becauſe he would drive them to theſe mattins to fetch them again, to confirm them in their belief of

† Religious ſuperſtition, hath from all ages been improved by politic prieſts as the moſt powerful weapon whereby to impoſe upon the credulity of mankind, eſtabliſh their empire and triumph over the pride of human reaſon.

The Magian and Chaldaic myſteries were moſt carefully withheld from the laity, and to this day their prieſts perſevere in the ſame ſteps, and as their ſervice is performed, ſo their pupils are initiated, in the Zend, a dead language, leſt otherwiſe theſe myſteries ſhould tranſpire; this ſubtle prieſtcraft the Egyptians with their other knowledge failed not to adopt; the moſt enlightned Bramins of the eaſt, laugh at the errors and ſuperſtitions of their religion, yet inſiſt on the neceſſity of impoſing upon the weakneſs of the common people. What is the religion of the Bonzes; what the worſhip of Foe, tolerated as Voltaire ſays, by the Chineſe, as a coarſe aliment for the vulgar, whilſt the better ſort feed on a purer ſubſtance, the refined morality of Confucius. Can there be a greater inſult upon the human underſtanding than the Delailama in Tartary, a living idol, by the craft of the prieſts univerſally believed to be immortal, receiving honors divine, and whoſe very excrements are eſteemed valuable preſents to the greateſt princes. Many ſtaunch Mahometants relax the laws of their prophet and think them adapted *ad captum vulgi*; the Greek and Roman ſchools adopted this unmanly doctrine; what elſe were the Dodonan, the Pythian myſteries; what the colleges of their prieſts, but repoſitories of their craft, ſacred from the vulgar: Even ſuch generous minds as Polybius and Tully argue for it, the firſt indeed almoſt atheiſtical, laughs at the ſuperſtition of a Deity, and ſays if men were virtuous and good there were no need of ſuch chimeras, but that they are wiſe inventions

of this his much desired authority over them: But since the English frequented those parts, they daily fall from his colours; relinquishing their former fopperies, and acknowledge our God to be supream. They acknowledge the power of the Englishman's God, as they call him, because they could never yet have power by their conjurations to damnify the English either in body or goods; and besides they say he is a God that sends them so many good things, so much good corn, so many cattle, temperate rains, fair seasons, which they likewise are the better for since the arrival of the English; the times and seasons being much altered in seven or eight years, freer from lightning and thunder, long droughts, sudden and tempestuous dashes of rain, and lamentable cold winters.

CHAP. XIII.

inventions to awe the ignorant; and Tully expressly defends it in one of his philosophic treatises: Amongst the barbarous nations which over ran Europe upon the dissolution of the Roman empire, from the gloomy recesses of retired groves we shall meet with druids exciting awe and terror in the people; even here, in these savage wilds of America, amidst the darkest ignorance of human nature, we find the Powows acting the same subtle scene; the ignorance in which the laity are kept by the popish priests every body knows, and in what manner they conceal from their fellow creatures the pure and generous principles of christanity; but how contradictory to reason is it to imagine, that religion which is equally necessary to all, should not be equally known by all, should not be leveled to the capacities of all to whom it is necessary; but there is no absurdity, no folly too gross for the human mind; education and prejudice never failing to attach us to it.

It is so much to their honor, I with pleasure remark the distinguished candour of the protestant clergy, they unveil to the understanding, the great source whence all their doctrines are derived, every man is enabled to judge for himself, and not obliged, implicitly to hang upon a Cowl or a Cassock; as this is characteristic of the protestant clergy, it forms the strongest presumption for the truth of the doctrines they inculcate.

CHAP. XIII.

Of their Wars.

OF their wars: Their old soldiers being swept away by the plague * which was very rife amongst them about 14 years ago, and resting themselves secure under the English protection, they do not practice any thing in martial feats worth observation, saving that they make themselves forts to flie into, if the enemy should unexpectedly assail them. These forts some be forty or fifty foot square, erected of young timber trees, ten or twelve feet high, rammed into the ground, with undermining within, the earth being cast up for their shelter against the dischargments of their enemies, having loop holes to send out their winged messengers, which often deliver their sharp and bloody embassies in the tawny sides of their naked assailants, who wanting butting rams and battering ordnances to command at a distance, lose their lives by their too near approachments. These use no other weapons in war than bows and arrows, saving that their Captains have long spears, on which if they return conquerors they carry the heads of their chief enemies that they slay in the wars; it being the custom to cut off their heads, hands, and feet, to bear home to their wives and children, as true tokens of their renowned victory. ‡ When they go to their wars, it is their custom to paint their faces with diversity of colours, some being all as black as

* This was the Small Pox.

‡ Amidst their greatest cruelties the Indians are remarkably chaste to their captives, rarely offering an indecency to their female prisoners, and nothing gives them greater offence than obsceneness; these are the manners of Indians, untainted by European intercourse.

as jet, some red, some half red and half black, some black and white, others spotted with divers kinds of colours, being all disguised to their enemies, to make them the more terrible to their foes, putting on likewise their rich jewels, pendants and wamponpeage, to put them in mind they fight not only for their children, wives, and lives, but likewise for their goods, lands and liberties; being thus armed with this warlike paint, the antique warriors make towards their enemies in a disordered manner, without any soldier-like marching or warlike postures, being deaf to any word of command, ignorant of falling off, or falling on, of doubling ranks or files, but let fly their winged shaftments without either fear or wit; their artillery being spent, he that hath no arms to fight, finds legs to run away.*

CHAP. XIV.

Their Games and Sports of Activity.

BUT to leave their wars, and to speak of their games, in which they are more delighted and better experienced, spending half their days in gaming and laxing. They have two sorts of games, one called Puim, the other Hub-bub, not much unlike cards and dice, being no other than lottery. Puim is 50 or 60 small bents of a foot long, which they divide to the number of their gamesters, shuffling them first between the palms of their hands; he that hath more than his fellow is so much the forwarder in his game: Many other

* Vid. Note at Page 90. The Indians by long wars, may learn the European manner of fighting, and use it alternately with their own: This hath in some measure been effected at the westward; and Tacitus observes the same thing of the wild and savage Germans, who in their wars with the Romans, at last foiled them at their own weapons.

other strange whimsies be in this game, which would be too long to commit to paper. He that is a noted gamester hath a great hole in his ear, wherein he carries his puims in defiance of his antagonists. Hub-bub is five small bones in a small smooth tray, the bones be like a die, but something flatter, black on the one side, and white on the other, which they place on the ground, against which violently thumping the platter, the bones mount, changing colours with the windy whisking of their hands to and fro; which action in that sport they much use, smiting themselves on the breast and thighs, crying out, Hub, Hub, Hub, Hub; they may be heard play at this game a quarter of a mile off. The bones being all black or white, make a double game; if three be of a colour and two of another, then they afford but a single game; four of a colour and one differing is nothing; so long as a man wins he keeps the tray; but if he loses the next man takes it. They are so bewitched with these two games, that they will lose sometimes all they have, beaver, moose skins, kettles, wampompeage, mow-hackies, hatchets, knives, all is confiscate by these two games. For their sports of activity, they have commonly but three or four; as football, shooting, running and swimming; when they play country against country, there are rich goals, all behung with wampompeage, mowhackies, beaver skins, and black otter skins. It would exceed the belief of many to relate the worth of one goal; wherefore it shall be nameless. Their goals be a mile long, placed on the sands, which are as even as a board; their ball is no bigger than a hand-ball, which sometimes they mount in the air with their naked feet, sometimes it is swayed by the multitude; sometimes also it is two days before they get a goal; then they mark the ground they win, and begin there the next day. Before they come to this

ſport, they paint themſelves, even as when they go to war, in policy to prevent future miſchief, becauſe no man ſhould know him that moved his patience, or accidentally hurt his perſon, taking away the occaſion of ſtudying revenge. Before they begin, their arms are diſordered, and hung upon ſome neighbouring tree, after which they make a long ſcrowl on the ſand, over which they ſhake loving hands, and with laughing hearts ſcuffle for victory. While the men play, the boys pipe, and the women dance and ſing trophies of their huſbands conqueſts; all being done, a feaſt ſummons their departure. It is moſt delight to ſee them play in ſmaller companies, when men may view their ſwift footmanſhip, their curious toſſings of their ball, their flouncing into the water, their lubberly wreſtling, having no cunning at all in that kind, one Engliſh being able to beat ten Indians at football. For their ſhooting, they be moſt deſperate markſmen for a point blank object, and if it may be poſſible *Cornicum oculos configere*, they will do it; ſuch is their dexterity in artillery, that they can ſmite the ſwift-running hind and nimble winged pigeon, without a ſtanding pauſe or left eyed blinking; they draw their arrows between the fore finger and the thumb; their bows be quick, but not ſtrong, not killing above ſix or ſeven ſcore. Theſe men ſhoot at one another, but with ſwift conveyance ſhun the arrow; this they do to make them expert againſt time of war. It hath been often admired how they can find their arrows, be the weeds as high as themſelves; yet they take ſuch perfect notice of the flight and fall, that they ſeldom loſe any. They are trained up to their bows even from their childhood; little boys with bows made of little ſticks, and and arrows of great bents, will ſmite down a piece of tabacco pipe every ſhoot, a good way off. As theſe Indians be good markſmen, ſo are they well

well experienced where the life of every creature lieth, and know where to ſmite him to make him die preſently. For their ſwimming, it is almoſt natural, but much perfected by continual practice; their ſwimming is not after our Engliſh faſhion of ſpread arms and legs, which they hold too tireſome, but like dogs, their arms before them cutting through the liquid with their right ſhoulder; in this manner they ſwim very ſwift and far, either in rough or ſmooth waters, ſometimes for their eaſe lying as ſtill as a log; ſometimes they will play the dive-doppers, and come up in unexpected places. Their children likewiſe be taught to ſwim when they are very young. For their running, it is with much celerity and continuance; yet I ſuppoſe there be many Engliſhmen, who being as light clad as they are, would out-run them for a ſpurt; tho' not able to continue it for a day or days, being they be very ſtrong winded, and rightly clad for a race.

CHAP. XV.

Of their Huntings.

FOR their hunting, it is to be noted they have no ſwift-footed greyhounds, to let ſlip at the ſight of the deer, no deep-mouthed hounds, or ſcenting beagles, to find out their deſired prey; themſelves are all this, who in that time of the year, when the deer comes down, having certain hunting houſes, in ſuch places where they know the deer uſually doth frequent, in which they keep their rendezvous, their ſnares, and all their accoutrements for that employment; when they get ſight of a deer, mooſe or bear, they ſtudy how to get the wind of him, and approaching within ſhot, ſtab their mark quite through, if the

bones hinder not. The chief thing they hunt after is deer, mooſes, and bears; it grieves them more to ſee an Engliſhman take one deer, than a thouſand acres of land. They hunt likewiſe after wolves and wild cats, raccoons, otters, beavers and muſquaſhes, trading both their ſkins and fleſh to the Engliſh. Beſides their artillery, they have other devices to kill their game, as ſometimes hedges a mile or two miles long, being a mile wide at one end, and made narrower and narrower by degrees, leaving only a gap of ſix foot long, over againſt which, in the day time, they lie lurking to ſhoot the deer which come through that narrow gut; ſo many as come within the circumference of that hedge, ſeldom return back or leap over, unleſs they be forced by ſome ravenous wolf, or ſight of ſome accidental paſſenger: In the night, at the gut of this hedge, they ſet deer traps, which are ſprings made of young trees, and ſmooth wrought cords; ſo ſtrong as it will toſs a horſe if he be caught in it. An Engliſh mare being ſtrayed from her owner, and grown wild by her long ſojourning in the woods, ranging up and down with the wild crew, ſtumbled into one of theſe traps, which ſtopt her ſpeed, hanging her like Mahomet's tomb, betwixt earth and heaven; the morning being come, the Indians went to look what good ſucceſs their veniſon traps had brought them, but ſeeing ſuch a long ſcutted deer prance in their merritotter, they bade her good morrow, crying out, what cheer, what cheer, Engliſhman's ſquaw horſe; having no better epithet than to call her a woman horſe; but being loth to kill her. and as fearful to approach near the friſcadoes of her iron heels, they poſted to the Engliſh to tell them how the caſe ſtood or hung with their ſquaw horſe, who unhorſed their mare, and brought her to her former tameneſs, which ſince hath brought many a good foal, and performed much good ſervice. In

theſe

theſe traps deers, mooſes, bears, wolves, cats and foxes are often canght; for their beavers and otters, they have other kind of traps, ſo ponderous as is unſupportable for ſuch creatures, the maſſy burthen whereof either takes them priſoners, or expels their breath from their ſqueezed bodies. Theſe kind of creatures would gnaw the other kind of traps aſunder with their ſharp teeth. Theſe beaſts are too cunning for the Engliſh, who ſeldom or never catch any of them; therefore we leave them to thoſe ſkilful hunters, whoſe time is not ſo precious, whoſe experienced bought-ſkill hath made them practical and uſeful in that particular.

CHAP. XVI.

Of their Fiſhings.

OF their fiſhing; in this trade they be very expert, being experienced in the knowledge of all baits, fitting ſundry baits for ſeveral fiſhes, and divers ſeaſons; being likewiſe not ignorant of the removal of fiſhes, knowing when to fiſh in rivers, and when at rocks, when in bays, and when at ſea. Since the Engliſh came they be furniſhed with Engliſh hooks and lines, before they made them of their own hemp more curiouſly wrought, of ſtronger materials than ours, hook'd with bone hooks; but lazineſs drives them to buy, more than profit or commendation wins them to make their own; they make likewiſe very ſtrong ſturgeon nets, with which they catch ſturgeons of twelve, fourteen, and ſixteen, ſome eighteen feet long in the day time; in the night time they betake them to their birchen canoes, in which they carry a forty fathom line, with a ſharp bearded dart, faſtened at the end thereof; then lighting a blazing torch made of birchen rinds, they wave it to and again by their canoe ſide, which the ſturgeon

ſturgeon much delighted with, comes to them tumbling and playing, turning up his white belly, into which they thruſt their lance, his back being impenetrable; which done they hale to the ſhore their ſtruggling prize. They have often recourſe unto the rocks, whereupon the ſea beats in warm weather, to look out for ſleepy ſeals, whoſe oil they much eſteem, uſing it for divers things. In ſummer they ſeldom fiſh any where but in ſalt, in winter in the freſh water and ponds; in froſty weather they cut round holes in the ice, about which they will ſit like ſo many apes, on their naked breeches, upon the congealed ice, catching of pikes, pearches, breams, and other ſorts of freſh-water fiſh.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their Arts and Manufactures.

OF their ſeveral arts and employments, as firſt in dreſſing all manner of ſkins, which they do by rubbing, afterwards painting them with antique embroiderings in unchangeable colours; † ſometimes they they take off the hair, eſpecially if it be not killed in ſeaſon. Their bows they make of a handſome ſhape, ſtrung commonly with the ſinews of mooſes. Their arrows are made of young eldern, feathered with feathers of eagles wings and tails, headed with braſs in ſhape of a heart or triangle, faſtened in a ſlender piece of wood ſix or eight inches long, which is framed to put looſe in the pithy eldern, that is bound faſt for riving:

† To rude and uncultivated minds ſtrong vibrations are moſt pleaſing; they are inſuſceptible of the delicate fine feelings ſenſibility affords, nor till poliſhed and harmonized will the calmer and more gentle emotions become agreeable; 'tis thus, colours ſtrong and vivid catch the eye, and paſſions fierce and uncontroulable elate the heart of a ſavage.

riving: Their arrows are made in this manner, because the arrow might shake from his head and be left behind for their finding, and the pile only remain to gaul the wounded beast. Their cordage is so even, soft, and smooth, that it looks more like silk than hemp. Their sturgeon nets are not deep, nor above forty foot long, which in ebbing low waters they stake fast to the ground, where they are sure the sturgeon will come, never looking more at it till the next low water. Their canoes are made either of pine trees, which before they were acquainted with English tools, they burned hollow, scraping them smooth with clam shells and oyster shells, cutting their outsides with stone hatchets. These boats be not above a foot and a half or two foot wide, and twenty foot long. Their other canoes be made of thin birch rinds, close ribbed on the inside with broad thin hoops, like the hoops of a tub; these are made very light, a man may carry one of them a mile, being made purposely to carry from river to river, and bay to bay, to shorten land passages. In these cockling fly-boats, wherein an Englishman can scarce sit without a fearful tottering, they will venture to sea, when an English shallop dare not bear a knot of sail, scudding over the over-grown waves as fast as a wind driven ship, being driven by their paddles; being much like battledores; if a cross wave (which is seldom) turn her keel up side down, they by swimming free her, and scramble into her again. ‡

CHAP. XVIII.

‡ The genius, the character of a country, is observable even in its arts. This chapter is highly picturesque of the savage manners of the Indians. The taste, the genius of the English is strongly depictured by the elegant and intrinsic worth of their manufactures; the airy products of France are lively emblems of the volatility of a Frenchman; and truly characteristic are the grotesque paintings, the clumsy productions in Holland, of the heaviness and droll appearance of a Dutchman.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of their Language.

OF their language which is only peculiar to themselves, not inclining to any of the refined tongues: Some have thought they might be of the disperſed Jews, becauſe ſome of their words be near unto the Hebrew; but by the ſame rule, they may conclude them to be ſome of the gleanings of all nations, becauſe they have words which ſound after the Greek, Latin, French, and other tongues: Their language is hard to learn, few of the Engliſh being able to ſpeak any of it, or capable of the right pronunciation, which is the chief grace of their tongue. They pronounce much after the dipthongs, excluding *L* and *R*, which in our Engliſh tongue they pronounce with much difficulty, as moſt of the Dutch do *T* and *H*, calling a Lobſter a Nobſtann. Every country do ſomething differ in their ſpeech, even as our northern people do from the ſouthern, and weſtern from them, eſpecially the Tarranteens, whoſe tongues run ſo much upon *R*, that they wharle much in pronunciation. When any ſhips come near the ſhore, they demand whether they be King Charles his Torries, with ſuch a rumbling ſound, as if one were beating an unbrac'd drum. In ſerious diſcourſe our ſouthern Indians uſe ſeldom any ſhort Colloquiums, but ſpeak their minds at large, without any interjected interruptions from any. The reſt giving diligent audience to his utterance; which done, ſome or other returns him as long an anſwer; they love not to ſpeak *multa ſed multum*, ſeldom are their words and their deeds ſtrangers. According to the matter in diſcourſe, ſo are their acting geſtures in their expreſſions. One of the Engliſh preachers in a ſpecial good intent

of

of good to their souls, hath spent much time in attaining to their language wherein he is so good a proficient that he can speak to their understanding, and they to his; much loving and respecting him for his love and counsel. It is hoped he may be an instrument of good amongst them. They love any man that can utter his mind in their words, yet they are not a little proud that they can speak the English tongue, using it as much as their own, when they meet with such as can understand it, puzzling stranger Indians, which sometimes visit them from more remote places, with an unheard language.*

* The Indian languages are almost as numerous as their tribes; those tribes which bordered upon each other, by means of their intercourse, retained a general affinity in their language, but no common derivative for all their various dialects can be traced; as the Tuetonic, the root of the Gothic, Saxon and Dutch; or the Hebrew, the source of the Syrian and Chaldaic: Nor is there the least affinity betwixt the language spoken by the Western Indians, and that used in these Eastern parts; though it is most probable that all the Indians upon this continent descended from the same ancestors, their figure, way of livelihood and manners, have such a striking semblance, as strongly indicates it; naturally erratic, they must have traversed the whole continent, till the common fountain diverging in such various streams, was soon lost, and no vestige of its source remained. This well accounts for the diversity of their language, which was much increased by their want of characters, as a common standard of sound determining it analogically in various words with greater certainty than arbitrary voice. It is this alone hath conveyed to us, thro' the silent vale of time the knowledge of ancient languages, which would otherwise have been long buried in oblivion, and perhaps their very names at this day unknown. The climate also in such a vast range of country would form different degrees of sensibility in the organs of hearing and of speech; but above all the natural transition and vicissitude to which words are subjected from the caprice of men.----Tully somewhere complaining of this transitiveness, says that in his time the latin spoken under the first kings could not be understood without studying it; the Greek of the heroic times, was

CHAP. XIX.

Of their Deaths, Burials, and Mournings.

ALTHOUGH the Indians be of lusty and healthful bodies, not experimentally knowing the catalogue of those health-wasting diseases which are incident to other countries, as fevers, pleurisies, callentures, agues, obstructions, consumptions, subfumigations, convulsions, apoplexies, dropsies, gouts, stones, tooth-aches, pox, measles, or the like; but spin out the thread of their days to a fair length, numbering threescore, fourscore, some a hundred years, before the worlds universal summoner cite them to the craving grave; but the date of their life expired, and deaths arrestment seizing upon

was barbarous in the days of Atticism: and such a propensity have men to change their language that during the short space of the seventy years of the captivityof the Jews, they had so far forgot their tongue, that the law was only legible by their scribes. Dutremblay, who has a treatise upon language, observes that the French spoken four centuries past, is not now intelligible. Language, transitory and mutable in its nature, dependent upon the arbitrary will of man, changes with the alterations of government, manners and science, growing more polite and extensive as the mind improves, till the æra of perfection arrives, and then hastning with the same rapidity to barbarism and ruin; such hath been the course of the Roman and Greek tongues, and of many languages now only nominally extant.

It is remarkable that the Penobscot Indians use the *R* in their language and cannot pronounce the *L*, when the St. John's Indians, not an hundred miles distant, pronounce the *L* and cannot the *R*, *e. g. Neredahunsa*, *I think*, they say *Neledahunsa*. *Neandererradam*, the preterimperfect tense, *I did think*, *Neandelelladam*; as I have been informed by an officer long resident among them.

If in their most ductile state the organs of speech are not accustomed to certain flexures, they oftentimes acquire a tone which proves incorrigible.

upon them, all hope of recovery being paſt, then to behold and hear their heavy ſobs, and deep-fetch'd ſighs, their grief-wrung hands, and tear-bedewed cheeks, their doleful cries, would draw tears from adamantine eyes, that be but ſpectators of their mournful obſequies. The glut of their grief being paſt, they commit the corps of their deceaſed friends to the earth, over whoſe grave is a long time ſpent many a briny tear, deep groan, and Iriſh-like howlings, continuing annual mournings with a black ſtiff paint on their faces: Theſe are the mourners without hope, yet do they hold the immortality of the never dying ſoul, that it ſhall paſs to the ſouth-weſt * Elyſium, concerning which the Indian faith jumps much with the Turkiſh Alcoran, holding it to be a kind of paradiſe, wherein they ſhall everlaſtingly abide, ſolaceing themſelves in odoriferous gardens, fruitful cornfields, green meadows, bathing their hides in the cool ſtreams of pleaſant rivers, and ſhelter themſelves from heat and cold in the ſumptuous palaces framed by the ſkill of nature's curious contrivement, concluding that neither care nor pain ſhall moleſt them, but that nature's bounty will adminiſter all things with a voluntary contribution from the overflowing ſtore-houſe of their Elizian hoſpital, at the portal whereof they ſay, lies a great Dog, whoſe churliſh ſnarlings deny a *pax intrantibus* to unworthy intruders: Wherefore it is their cuſtom, to bury with them their bows and arrows, and good ſtore of their Wampompeage and Mowhackies; the one to affright that affronting Cerberus, the other to purchaſe more immenſe prerogatives in their paradiſe. For their enemies and looſe livers,

* The moſt pleaſant wind of the climate, bringing with it a ſerene ſky, chearful ſuns, and a temperate air; creating an happy coincidency of pleaſing emotions, bewraying the mind to a fond belief of the agreeable illuſion; and thus they imagined all their corn and beans came at firſt from the great God Kantantouwit's field in the ſouth-weſt.

whom they account unworthy of this imaginary happiness, they say that they pass to the infernal dwellings of Abamacho, to be tortured according to the fictions of the ancient heathen.*

CHAP. XX.

* Pleasure so frequently results from corporeal objects that it is no wonder men in their ideas of a future state shut not out this pleasing source; and such is the universal tendency of our passions to their own gratification, that all nations, agreeably to their particular prevalency, have accommodated their ideas of a future state, as well as the worship payable to the Deity: Many pagan altars have smoaked with human immolations, from an apprehension of him as implacable and terrific, whilst the most benevolent manners have been formed from the idea of a Being infinitely amiable. The systems of a future state have been debased by the doctrine of pleasures corporeal, a doctrine wished for and eagerly embraced by the human heart; this was a firm support to paganism, and was the arcanum of Mahomet's success.

The Egyptians were the most ancient asserters of the immortality of the soul thro' successive transmigrations into all earthly animals till it again returned into a human body, unconscious of its pre-existence; upon this Pythagoras refined, and introduced a retributory state, asserting that the descent of all souls, even into human frames, was a punishment of lapsed beings, and a still greater when transmigrated into grosser and brutal bodies. The most refined pagan theology imagined the idolon or shade of a corporeal body ever attended the soul, and inclined to those pleasures most delectable to it in this life; and tho' science might be its predominant pursuit, yet the bias to its other habits still existed; this was in part right; perhaps it is a distinction betwixt the first uncreated Mind and all created beings of the sublimest degree, some shade, some etherial vehicle encircling them, whilst Mind, uncreated and invisible cannot be the object of perception to finite and limited existences; but in this stretch of thought, the human mind grows bewildered and looses itself in the pursuit of abstract being.

To the Mosaic history the Egyptians were indubitably obliged for their first ideas, which they mythologized suitably to their interest; and of this plagiarism Simplicius obliquely accuses them, when taking notice of the Hebrew lawgiver's history of

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CHAP. XX.

Of their Women, their Dispositions, Employments, Usage by their Husbands, their Apparel, and Modesty.

TO satisfy the curious eye of women readers, who otherwise might think their sex forgotten, or not worthy a record, let them peruse these few lines, wherein they may see their own happiness, if weighed in

the Cosmogonia, he calls it an Egyptian fable: and from their idea of one eternal unmade intellect, one all-wise omnipotent Creator, they at last deified every human faculty, nay every vegitable capable of symbolical contortion, paying honours divine to an onion, for that its seven convolutions symbolized the seven planetary orbits of the solar system.

Egypt was the source of western paganism, and tho' the sublime ideas of Plato penetrated the mythologic veil, and disclosed the doctrine of immortality intellectual, when the soul emancipated from her corporeal attachment, contemplates pure intelligence, until she arriveth at

"The first good, first perfect, and first fair."

Yet the human mind unable to support this divine ray of truth, tortoise like recoiled to its unhappy umbratude.

The Egyptian theology, refined by Pythagoras, and elevated by Plato, leads us to the pursuit of science and moral beauty; the doctrines of Mahomet debase us to the grovelling pursuit of animal pleasure; but christianity subliming the human understanding, teacheth that its felicity consists in a similitude to the creator, and that the moral habits of the mind caused by its own volition, are the foundation of happiness or misery in a future state; it is thus revelation elevateth the human mind and dissipates that incertitude in which the wisest pagans were involved. Who can without compunction observe the noble strugglings of a Tully combating the ignorance of his mind, and amidst the strenuous arguments of Plato, fearful for his own immortality?

"Nescio

in the woman's ballance of theſe ruder Indians, who ſcorn the tutorings of their wives, or to admit them as their equals; tho' their qualities and induſtrious deſervings may juſtly claim the preheminence, and command better uſage, and more conjugal eſteem, their perſons and features being every way correſpondent, their qualifications more excellent, being more loving, pitiful, and modeſt, mild, provident, and laborious, than their lazy husbands. Their employments are many: Firſt, their building of houſes, whoſe frames are formed like our garden-arbours, ſomething more round, very ſtrong and handſome, covered with cloſe wrought mats of their own weaving, which deny entrance to any drop of rain, tho' it come both fierce and long, neither can the piercing north wind find a cranny, through which he can convey his cooling breath; they be warmer than our Engliſh houſes; at the top is a ſquare hole for the ſmoke's evacuation, which in rainy weather is covered with a pluver: Theſe are ſuch ſmokey dwellings, that when there are good fires, they are not able to ſtand upright, but lie all along under the ſmoke, never uſing any ſtools or chairs, it being as rare to ſee an Indian ſit on a ſtool at home, as it is ſtrange to ſee an Engliſhman ſit on his heels abroad. Their houſes are ſmaller in ſummer, when their families be diſperſed by reaſon of heat and occaſions. In winter they have ſome fifty or threeſcore foot long; forty or fifty men being inmates under one roof;

"Neſcio quomodo dum lego aſſentior, cum depoſui librum, et "mecum ipſe de immortalitate animorum cœpi cogitare, aſſen- "tio omnis illa elabitur." Tuſcul. Quæſt. Yet amidſt all this incertainty it afforded them the nobleſt ſupport under the fatigues of life, "quod ſi in hoc erro, quod animos hominum "immortales credam, lubenter erro, nec mihi hunc errorem "quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo." de Senect. They had no ſolacement from annihilation, the ſcurvy retreat of baſe and ſenſual minds.

roof; and as is their husbands occasions, these poor tectonists are often troubled, like snails, to carry their houses on their backs, sometimes to fishing-places, other times to hunting-places; after that to a planting-place, where it abides the longest: Another work is their planting of corn, wherein they excel our English husbandmen, keeping it so clear with their clam shell hoes, as if it were a garden, rather than a cornfield; not suffering a choaking weed to advance his audacious head above their infant corn, or an undermining worm to spoil his spurns. Their corn being ripe, they gather it, and dry it hard in the sun, convey it to their barns, which be great holes digged in the ground, in form of a brass pot, ceiled with rinds of trees, wherein they put their corn, covering it from the inquisitive search of their gormandizing husbands, who would eat up both their allowed portion and reserved seed, if they knew where to find it. But our hogs have found a way to unhinge their barn doors, and rob their garners: They are glad to implore their husbands help to roll the bodies of trees over their holes, to prevent those pioneers, whose theivery they as much hate as their flesh. Another of their employments is their summer processions to get lobsters for their husbands, wherewith they bait their hooks when they go a fishing for bass or codfish. This is an every day's walk, be the weather cold or hot, the water rough or calm, they must dive sometimes over head and ears for a lobster, which often shakes them by their hands with a churlish nip, and bids them adieu. The tide being spent, they trudge home two or three miles, with an hundred weight of lobsters at their backs, and if none, an hundred scolds meet them at home, and an hungry belly for two days after. Their husbands having caught any fish, they bring it in their boats as far as they can by water, and there leave it; as it was their

care

care to catch it, so it must be their wives pains to fetch it home, or fast; which done, they must dress it and cook it, dish it, and present it, see it eaten over their shoulders, and their loggerships having filled their paunches, their sweet lullabies scramble for their scraps. In the summer, these Indian women, when lobsters are in plenty and prime, they dry them to keep for winter, erecting scaffolds in the hot sun-shine, making fires likewise underneath them, by whose smoke the flies are expelled till the substance remains hard and dry. In this manner they dry bass and other fish without salt, cutting them very thin to dry suddenly, before the flies spoil them, or the rain moist them, having a special care to hang them in their smokey houses, in the night and dankish weather.

In summer they gather flags, of which they make mats for houses, and hemp and rushes, with dying stuff, of which they make curious baskets, with intermixed colours and pourtraitures of antique imagery: These baskets be of all sizes, from a quart to a quarter; in which they carry their luggage. In winter they are their husbands caterers, trudging to the clam banks for their belly timber, and their porters to lug home their venison, which their laziness exposes to the wolves till they impose it upon their wives shoulders. They likewise sew their husbands shoes, and weave coats of turkey feathers, besides all their ordinary houshold drudgery which daily lies upon them; so that a big belly hinders no business, nor a childbirth takes much time, but the young infant being greased and footed, wrapt in a beaver skin, bound to his good behaviour, with his feet up to his bum, upon a board two foot long and one foot broad, his face exposed to all nipping weather, this little pappouse travels about with his bare-footed mother, to paddle in the icy clam-banks, after three or four days have sealed his pasteboard

and

and his mother's recovery. For their carriage, it is very civil, smiles being the greatest grace of their mirth; their musick is lullabies to quiet their children, who generally are as quiet as if they had neither spleen nor lungs. To hear one of these Indians unseen, a good ear might easily mistake their untaught voice for the warbling of a well-tuned instrument. Such command have they of their voices. These womens modesty drives them to wear more cloaths than their men, having always a coat of cloth or skins wrapt like a blanket about their loins, reaching down to their hams, which they never put off in company. If a husband have a mind to sell his wife's beaver petticoat, which sometimes he doth, she will not put it off till she have another to put on. Commendable is their mild carriage and obedience to their husbands, notwithstanding all this their churlishness and savage inhumanity, not seeming to delight in frowns or offering to word it with their lords, nor presuming to proclaim their female superiority to the usurping of the least tittle of their husbands charter, but rest themselves content under their helpless condition, counting it the woman's portion. Since the English arrival comparison hath made them miserable; for seeing the kind usage of the English to their wives, they do as much condemn their husbands for unkindness, and commend the English for their love, as their husbands commending themselves for their wit in keeping their wives industrious, do condemn the English for their folly in spoiling good working creatures. These women resort often to the English houses, where *pares cum paribus congregatæ*, in sex I mean, they do somewhat ease their misery by complaining, and seldom part without a relief. If her husband come to seek for his squaw, and begin to bluster, the English woman betakes her to her arms, which are the warlike ladle, and the scald-

ing liquors, threatning blistering to the naked runaway, who is soon expelled by such liquid comminations. In a word, to conclude this woman's history, their love to the English hath deserved no small esteem; ever presenting them something that is either rare or desired, as strawberries, hurtleberries, rasberries, gooseberries, cherries, plumbs, fish, and other such gifts as their poor treasury yields them. But now it may be that this relation of the churlish and inhuman behaviour of these ruder Indians towards their patient wives, may confirm some in the belief of an aspersion, which I have often heard men cast upon the English there, as if they should learn of the Indians to use their wives in the like manner, and to bring them to the same subjection, as to sit on the lower hand, and to carry water, and the like drudgery: But if my own experience may out-balance an ill-grounded scandalous rumour, I do assure you upon my credit and reputation, that there is no such matter; but the women find there as much love, respect, and ease, as here in Old England. I will not deny, but that some poor people may carry their own water, and do not the poorer sort in England do the same, witness your London tankard bearers, and your country cottagers. But this may well be known to be nothing but the rancorous venom of some that bear no good will to the plantation. For what need they carry water, seeing every one hath a spring at his door, or the sea by his house. Thus much for the satisfaction of women, touching this entrenchment upon their prerogative, as also concerning the relation of these Indian squaws.

BECAUSE

BECAUSE many have desired to hear some of the Natives language, I have here inserted a small *Nomenclator*, with the Names of their chief *Kings*, *Rivers*, *Months*, and *Days*; whereby such as have insight into the Tongues, may know to what language it is most inclining; and such as desire it as an unknown language only, may reap delight, if they can get no profit.

A

Aberginian an Indian
Abamocho the Devil
Aunum a dog
Ausupp a raccoon
Au so hau nous hoca a lobster
Assawog will you play
A saw up to morrow
As cos coi green
Ausomma petuc quanocke give me some bread
Appepes naw aug when I see it I'll tell you my mind
Anno ke nugge a sieve
An nu ocke a bed
Autchu wompocke to-day
Appause the morn
Ascom quom pau-put chim thanks be given to God

B

Bequoquo the head
Bisquant shoulder bones

C

Chesco kean you lie
Commouton kean you steal
Cram to kill
Cowimms sleeps
Cocam the navel
Cos the nails
Conomma a spoon
Cossaquot bow and arrows
Cone the sun
Cotattup I drink to you
Coetop will you drink tobacco
Connucksommona it is almost night
Connu good night to you
Cowompanusin good morrow
Coepot ice

D

Dottaguck the back bone
Docke taugh he (necke what is your name

E

Et chossucke a knife
Eat chumnis Indian corn
Eans causuacke 4 fathoms
Easu tommoc quock half a beaver skin
Epimetsis much good may your meat do ye

F is never used.

G

Gettoquaset the great toe
Genehuncke the fore finger
Gettoquacke the knees
Gettoquun the knuckles
Gettoquan the thumb
Gegnewaw og let me see

H

Haha yes
Hoc the body
Hamucke almost
Hub hub hub come come come
Haddo quo dunna where did you
moquonash buy that
Haddagoe weage who lives here

I

Iſattonaneiſe the beard (ger
Icattop faint with hun-
Icattoquam very ſleepy

K

Kean I
Keiſſeanchacke back of the hand
Kſitta it hurts me
Kawkenog wam-pompeage let me ſee money
Kagmatcheu will you eat meat
Ketottug a whetſtone
Kenie very ſharp
Kettotaneſe lend me money
Kekechoi much pain

L is not uſed.

M

Matchet it is naught
Mattamoi to die
Mitchin meat
Miſquantum very angry
Mauncheake be gone
Matta no
Meſeig hair
Mamanock the eye brows
Matchanne the noſe
Mattone the lips
Mepeteis the teeth
Mattickeis the ſhoulders
Mettoſowſet the little toe
Metoſaunige the little finger
Miſquiſh the veins
Mohoc the waſte
Meniſowhock the genitals
Mocaſſa black of the nail
Matchanni very ſick
Monacus bows & arrows
Manehops ſit down
Monakinne a coat
Mawcus ſinnus a pair of ſhoes
Matchemauquot it ſtinketh
Muſkanai a bone

Menota a baſket
Meatchis be merry
Mawpaw it ſnows
Mawnaucoi very ſtrong
Mutcheou a very poor man
Monoſketenog what's this
Mouſket the breech
Matchet wequon very blunt
Matta ka tau cau-ſhana will you not trade
Mowhackies Indian gold

N

Nuncompees a boy
Nickſquaw a maid
Nean you
Nippe water
Naſampe pottage
Nota fix
Niſquan the elbow
Noenaſet the third toe
Nahenan a turkey
Niccone a black bird
Naw naunidge the middle finger
Napet the arm
Nitchicke the hand
Notoquap the ſkin
Nogcus the heart
Nobpaw nocke the breaſt bone
Ne quaw the thighs
Ne top a friend
Nonmia give me
Noeieantop how do you
Nawhaw niſſis farewell
Noei pauketau by and by kill
Nenetah ha I'll fight with you
Noci comquocke a cod fiſh
Ne paupe ſtand by
No ottut a great journey
Necautauh hau no ſuch matter
Noewamma he laugheth
Noeſhow a father
Nitke a mother

Netchaw

Netchaw a brother
Notonquous a kinſman
Nenomous a kinſwoman
Nau mau nais my ſon
Taunais my daughter
No cinſhom give me corn
Nemnis take it
Nenimmanequitta ta auchu give me a ſpan of any thing
Nees nis caſu acke 2. fathoms
Notchumoi a little ſtrong
Negacawgh hi lend me
Ne bucks quam adieu
Noe winyah come in
Naut ſeam much weary
Noe wamaw auſe I love you
Net noe whaw miſſu a man of a middle ſtature

O

Ottucke a deer
Occone a deer ſkin
Oquan the heel
Ottump a bow
Ottommaocke tobacco
Ottannapeake the chin
Occotucke the throat
Occaſu half a quarter
Onquagh ſau au you are cunning
Ontoquos a wolf

P

Pow-wow a conjurer
Pettaſinna give me a pipe of tobacco
Pooke coltſ-foot
Pappouſe a child
Petuckquanocke bread
Picke a pipe
Poneſanto make a fire
Papowne winter
Pequas a fox
Pauſachu a little journey
Peamiſſin a little
Peacumſhis work hard
Pokitta ſmoak
Petogge a bag
Paucaſn a quarter
Pauſawniſcoſu half a fathom
Peunctanmocke much pray
Peſiſſu a little man
Pauſepiſſoi the ſun is riſing
Pouckſhau it is broken
Poebugetaas you burn
Pouſſu a big bellied woman

Q

Quequas nummos what chear
Quequas nim it is almoſt day
Quog quoſh make haſte
Quenohpuuncke a ſtool
Quenops be quiet

R is never uſed.

S

Sagamore a king
Sachem idem
Sannup a man
Squaw a woman
Squitta a fire ſpark
Saggig a baſs
Seaſicke a rattle ſnake
Shannucke a ſquirrel
Skeſicos the eyes
Sickubecke the neck
Supſkinge the wriſt bones
Socottocanus the breaſt bone
Squehincke blood
Siccawquant the hams
Sis ſau cauſke the ſhins
Suppiſke ankle bones
Seat the foot
Seaſcap a duck
Suckis ſuacke a clam
Sequan the ſummer
Soekepup he will bite
Sis come out
Squi red

Swanſcawſuacke

Swanſcawſuacko	3 fathoms
Sawampeage	very weak
Succomme	I will eat you
Saſketupe	a great man

T

Taabut ne an hee	thanks heartily
Tantacum	beat him
Tap in	go in
Tit ta	I cannot tell
Tahanyah	what news
Tonagus	the ears
Tannicke	a cranny
Thaw	the calf of the leg
Tahaſeat	ſole of the foot
Taſſechequonunck	the inſtep
Tanokete naum	whither go you
Taniſſin may	which is the way
Tanketappin	where live you
Tonocco wam	where ha'ye been
Taſis	a pair of ſtockings
Tokucke	a hatchet
Tow wow	a ſiſter
Tom mawſhew	a huſband
Tookeſin	enough ſleep
Titto kean I coto quam	do you nod and ſleep
Tau ke quam	very heavy
Tauh coi	it is very cold

U

Ukepamanous	the breaſt bone
Unkeſheto	will you truck

W

Wampompeage	Indian money
Winnet	very good
Web	a wife
Wigwam	a houſe
Wawmott	enough
Whenan	the tongue
Whaukſis	a fox
Wawpatucke	a gooſe
Wawpiſke	the belly
Whoenuncke	a ditch
Wappinne	the wind
Wawtom	underſtand you
Wompey	white
Wa aoy	the ſun is down
Waacoh	the day breaks
Wekemawquot	it ſmells ſweet
Weneikinne	its very handſom
Whiſſu hochuck	the kettle boileth
Waawnew	you have loſt your way
Woenaunta	its a warm ſum-
Wampoca	tomorrow (mer
Wawmawſeu	an honeſt man
Weneicu	a rich man
Weitagcone	a clear day
Wawnauco	yeſterday

X never uſed.

Y

Yeips	ſit down
Yaus	the ſides
Yaugh	there
Yough yough	now
Yoakes	lice

The Number of Twenty.

Aquit	1	*Ocquinta*	6	*Apponna qiut*	11	*Apponaquinta*	16
Nees	2	*Enotta*	7	*Apponees*	12	*Appononatta*	17
Nis	3	*Sonaſke*	8	*Apponis*	13	*Apponſonaſke*	18
Toaw	4	*Aſſaquoquin*	9	*Appoyoaw*	14	*Apponaſquokin*	19
Abbona	5	*Piocke*	10	*Apponobonna*	15	*Neeniſchicke*	20

The

The Indians count their time by nights, and not by days, as followeth :

Sawup	1 ſleep	*Nequittataſucqunnnocquock*	6 ſleeps
Iſoqunnocquocke	2 ſleeps	*Enottataſucqunnocquock*	7 ſleeps
Sucqunnocquock	3 ſleeps	*Soeſictaſucqunnoquock*	8 ſleeps
Yoawqunnocquock	4 ſleeps	*Pauſaquoquiaſucqunocquock*	9 ſleeps
Abonettataſucqunocquock	5 ſleeps	*Pauquoqunnocquock*	10 ſleeps

How they call their Months.

A quit-appauſe	1 month	*Nap nappona appauſe*	15 months
Nees-agpauſe	2 months	*Nap napocquint appauſe*	16 months
Nis-appauſe	3 months	*Nap nap enotta appauſe*	17 months
Yoaw appauſe	4 months	*Napſoe ſic appauſe*	18 months
Abonna appauſe	5 months	*Napawſoquoquinappauſe*	19 months
Nequit appauſe	6 months	*Neeſniſchicke appauſe*	20 months
Enotta appauſe	7 months	*Neeſniſchicke appon a quit appauſe*	21 months
Sonaſke appauſe	8 months	*Neeſniſchicke apponeſe appauſe*	22 months
Aſſaquoquin appauſe	9 months	*Neeſniſchicke apponis appauſe*	23 months
Piocke appauſe	10 months	*Neeſniſchicke appo yoaw appauſe*	24 months
Appona quit appauſe	11 months		
Appon nees appauſe	12 months		
Appon nis appauſe	13 months		
Appon yoaw appauſe	14 months		

The names of the Indians, as they be divided into ſeveral countries.

Tarrenteens	*Aberginians*	*Pequants*	*Connecticuts*
Churchers	*Narraganſetts*	*Nipnets*	*Mewhawks*

The names of Sagamores.

Woenohaquaham	*Anglice* King *John*
Montowampate	*Anglice* King *James*
Mauſquonomend	*Igowam* Sagamore
Chickkatawhut	*Naponſet* Sagamore
Canonicus	*Narraganſet* Sagamore
Oſomeagen	Sagamore of the *Pequants*
Kekun	*Petchutacut* Sagamore

Naſſawwhonan	Two Sagamores	*Piſſacunna*	A Sagamore & moſt
Woeſemagen	of *Nipuſt*		noted Necromancer

Nepawhamis	*Nannaponnacund*	Sagamores to the Eaſt and North
Aſteco	*Nattonanite*	Eaſt bearing rule over the *Churchers* and *Tarrenteens*.
Aſſotomowite	*Noenotchuock*	

08012

The names of the noted Habitations.

Merrimack		*Wheſſaguſcus*
Igowam		*Conihoſſet*
Igoſham		*Manmiéed*
Chobocco		*Soewamſet*
Nahumkeake	Salem	*Situate*
Saugus	Lynn	*Amaſkeage*
Swampſcot		*Pemmiquid*
Nahant		*Saketehoc*
Winniſimmet		*Piſcataqua*
Miſham		*Caunibeck*
Miſhamut	Charleſtown	*Penobſcot*
Maſſachuſetts	Boſton	*Pantoquid*
Miſtick		*Nawquot*
Pigsguſſet	Watertown	*Muſketoquid*
Naponſet		*Nipnet*
Matampan	Dorcheſter	*Whauchuſets*
Pawtuxet	Plymouth	

At what places be rivers of note.

Cannibeck river	*Weſſaguſcus* river
Merrimack river	*Luddams* ford
Tchobocco river	*Narraganſet* river
Saugus river	*Muſketoquid* river
Miſtick river	*Hunniborne* river
Miſhaum river	*Connecticut* river
Naponſet river	

It is difficult at this diſtance to determine if the above words are orthographically true, as ſcarce two cotemporary authors have the ſame orthography for any one word, a proof of the diverſity of our auditory, as well as of our vocal mechaniſm.

F I N I S.

Climate 3. 4. 5.

Indean burning land 8.
Meadows 12.
Hay —— 12